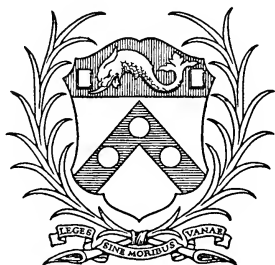


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VOLUME XX

1954

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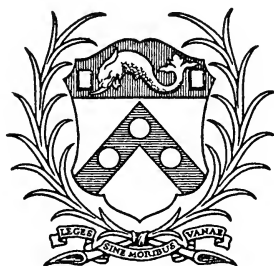
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WINTER 1954

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Friends of the Library

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In Memoriam

John C. Mendenhall, 1886-1953

John C. Mendenhall, graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, a teacher who for forty years inspired in students at his alma mater a love for English literature. He had a deep understanding of books and formed the collection which bears his name symbolizing the debt this Library owes one of its truest Friends.

the 1948 edition of the British and Foreign Bible Society's *Gospel in Many Tongues*, with specimens of fine printing as well as of language skill, from 770 languages.

The handsome little volume of 78 double pages now in the University of Pennsylvania Library contains the Lord's Prayer in twenty-two tongues, but it is a good deal more than merely an early link in that long chain. The person of the author alone would vouch for that. Konrad Gesner of Zurich (1516–1565) was surely one of the most independent figures in the history of European scholarship. His production was immense, and at least two of his achievements are monumental: his *Bibliotheca universalis*, an all-comprehensive bibliography of the works written in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew up to his day; and his system of botany, published long after his death, in which he has revealed himself to students of the history of science as a precursor of Linnaeus. *Mithridates*, printed by Froschauer in Zurich in 1555,¹ is a most serious effort to assemble all available knowledge, ancient and contemporary, about the phenomenon of linguistic diversity which clearly has him spellbound. He is forever pained by the danger of missing something. When in his dedication to John Bale, bishop of Ossory, he apologizes for his shortcomings, this is more than a polite phrase, for he concludes with the characteristic request not only to correct mistakes, but "if there is some other language in the Britannic realm (and I hear that the islands of Ireland and Man each have their own), please send a specimen . . . to me speedily." And in the "Epilogus ad lectorem" he strikes the same note: "let others add their own observations and corrections, either publicly or by writing the author in private."

The greatest distinction of the work lies perhaps in its utter sobriety. Unlike its few predecessors including the *Ratio communis* of Theodor Bibliander (Buchmann) whom Gesner gratefully mentions as his teacher and unlike many of its successors, it is quite averse to genealogical speculation. It is a reference book with the languages listed alphabetically and with information given as it was available. Some articles are long and detailed such as the one on German; others are terse and skeptical. The languages treated at greater length include, of course, those from western and central Europe and the great vehicles of literature from the Near East. There is also a good deal on the ancient

Greek dialects and on such idioms as Thracian and Etruscan, taken from the ancient grammarians and historians. Tartar is dealt with in an article which shows the author wrestling with a problem familiar to the census takers of today, namely that of contradictory and confusing nomenclature. Some of it, in his case, goes back to Marco Polo. A specimen of Hungarian is offered with the complaint that it is impossible to find one's way through different versions of the same text and that the quotation

MITHRIDATES.
DE DIFFE
RENTIIS LINGVA
RVM TVM VETERVM
tum quæ hodie apud diuerfas natio-
nes in toto orbe terrarū in usu sunt;
CONRADI GESNERI
Tigurini Obser-
uationes.

A N N O
M D LV

TIGVRI EXCVDEBAT
FROSCHOVERVS.

must therefore remain uncertain. Even the New World is represented with notes from Amerigo Vespucci and others. In a section on artificial languages we find some of Thomas More's utopian poetry and also, to our surprise, the Gipsies who are credited with the invention of the "dishonest men's" and vagabonds' argot known then and later as Rotwelsch, while no reference is made to Romany.² By way of an appendix Gesner reprints from the famous *Liber Vagatorum* a Rotwelsch-German glossary. At the very end the translations of the Lord's Prayer are assembled on

a folding table, with a special dedication to Leonhard Beck von Beckenstein.

Gesner had his imitators, but few of them had his critical originality. The creative minds of a later generation were less restrained: as early as 1580 Goropius' *Hermathena* appeared in which Dutch is declared to be the mother of all languages, and so it went through the centuries up to the present time. In a sense it was only in men such as Scaliger and Leibniz, Rasmus Rask and Franz N. Finck that Gesner's genius has found worthy heirs.

NOTES

A. Meillet and M. Cohen (ed.), *Les langues du monde* (nouvelle édition, 1952), itself the latest fruit of the tradition in which Gesner worked, provides an excellent bibliography of older work on pp. xxvii-xxviii.—On Gesner's life, see W. Ley, *Konrad Gesner, Leben und Werk*, Munich, 1929.

1. Mithridates. De differentiis linguarum tum [*sic*] ueterum tum quae hodie apud diuersas nationes in toto orbe terrarum in usu sunt Conradio Gesneri Tigurini obseruationes. Anno MDLV. Tigurini excudebat Froschouerus.—The Library's copy bears the following handwritten entry (18th century, post 1751) on the flyleaf: Hic liber a raritate et eruditione magni aestimatur, testibus Vogt in Catal. libror. rar. p. 275. Bibliothec. Salthen. p. 365. n. 1799.—In 1610 Caspar Waser made a new, somewhat revised edition of the work.
2. This is rectified in Waser's re-edition; see F. Kluge, *Rotwelsch* (Strassburg, 1901), p. 95.

The Place of Esop in Medieval Literature

ARNO SCHIROKAUER*

IN his history of German literature, *Von der Mystik zum Barock, 1400–1600*, the German scholar Wolfgang Stammeler gives a special account of the famous translation of Esop by Steinhöwel: “After 1476,” he writes, “his Esop is published, the greatest of all his successes; it not only was reprinted and re-edited in various versions time and again till 1730 throughout a quarter of a millennium, but it was translated into French, English, Spanish, Dutch and Czech. To be sure, Esop had been read and translated and plagiarized throughout the Middle Ages—and even the Italian Humanists had vouchsafed Esop their attention; Lorenzo Valla did not disdain to make a translation of the Greek into Latin in 1440.”

Apart from slight inaccuracies (William Caxton’s English print of 1484 is not a firsthand translation of Steinhöwel, but of the French translation of Steinhöwel, and Valla’s Latin version should be dated some years before 1440) it is perfectly true that Esop was known and read throughout the Middle Ages and that he even survived the much advertised transvaluation of medieval values in the Renaissance. Stammeler’s just appraisal of the great popularity of Esop during the Middle Ages can be applied to one other book only, the Bible, which also was read and studied and quoted and translated and plagiarized throughout the Middle Ages, and which also had attracted the magnificent philological genius of the pathfinder of Humanism, Lorenzo Valla.

I do not see how one could place Esop next to the Bible, even if one can claim the authoritative support of Martin Luther who, in 1530, interrupted his translation of the Old Testament to turn to Esop. From his “Sinai,” as he modestly called the castle of Coburg, he wrote to Melanchthon about his three literary tasks, his “*tria tabernacula*, *Psalteris unum*, *Prophetis unum*, et *Aesopo unum*.” Here, Esop was to serve not only as a kind of “*Biblia pauperum*,” a people’s Bible, and a primer of Christian ethics, but to rank next to the Bible in wisdom. Since Luther never did finish his translation, nor publish the 13 fables which he had

* Johns Hopkins University.

completed, it is easy to disprove a claim that the prestige of Luther did back the extraordinary popularity of Esopic literature during the larger part of the 16th century. It is rather obvious that Luther himself follows a tradition rooted in the appreciation and even glorification of worldly wisdom and in the contempt for folly. Folly was detested as a mortal sin. Esop, therefore, carried out the virtue of common sense. Thus, while we may accept this companionship of Bible and fable, and this particular rank during the period of the great schism, it cannot necessarily be extended back to the early and high Middle Ages, i.e., when literary patronage was centered around the courts and not in the guild halls of the artisans. With justice we speak of Carolingian, Ottonian, Staufian literatures, produced as well as enjoyed by a very small and very exclusive stratum of high society. Their principal literary source had always been, even in the golden age of chivalry, the Bible, but hardly Esop. The sagacity of Esop has a certain tang of cunning, an "haut-gout" of slyness, somewhat sub-aristocratic and even plebeian; the mother wit of Esopic heroes proves to little people that little fish need not always be devoured by big fish. The fable works on the slant, its protagonist tries new rules for an old game and overcomes a natural handicap by all too clever tricks. Why should an established aristocratic order sponsor a literature favoring the underdog?

A particularly intelligent anecdote is told about Socrates according to which the imprisoned philosopher, as a pastime, transcribed Esop's fables into metre. True or not, this anecdote indicates where and under what conditions fables are spawned. Add to the fable the proverb, the prank, and the riddle, and you have the literature of the "subhuman" which has horse-sense instead of style, the heroes of which are sly but not sages. Whether Phaedrus, Babrius, Avianus or Romulus have written, collected, translated, or created the so-called Esopic fables, whether these fables are of Persian, Indian, Greek or Arabian origin is a philological question to which there are as many answers as fables. I should like to point out, however, that as Homer was said to be blind, Esop was said to be a slave, a well-trained, rather intelligent domestic animal. This slave's wisdom, a somewhat slaving wisdom, was never to be compared with that of the Homeric poet who sat on the left of his prince, nor with that of Herakleitos,

who was of royal descent; if Homer is the poet of the towering Acropolis, Esop is the poet of the gutter. He may, of course, never have existed, except in the imagination of Herodotus, but there is at last the historical Phaedrus, very much alive among the slaves of the Emperor Augustus. It was he who first collected 145 iambic pieces, and who by so doing created a new literary species: the Esopic fable. He died as a freedman.

The fable as a literary genre is sprung from the waning antiquity and from the pen of a member of the lower classes whose realistic poetry or (as Curtius would prefer to say) "low styled poetry" celebrates the triumph of craftiness over hereditary grandeur; the aristocrats of the animal kingdom are the plebeians' dupes. The aristocratic scale of values is rejected by some other members of the lower classes at that time, by the authors of the Gospels. Phaedrus is the contemporary of the apostles; his fables and their doctrine represent the two faces of the same proletarian coin.¹

When the medieval millennium did accept any fables, such as those which emerged in the beginning of the ninth century at the court of Charlemagne, probably written by Paul the Deacon himself, they carried a special significance, for example the following fable:

A calf wandered sadly about a meadow in search of his mother; along came a stork and said: "Lo brother, why are you lowing so piteously? Why the deep gloom here where everything is blooming?" The calf replied: "Oh, brother, it is three days since I last had my milk; my stomach is empty." "Don't be a fool," rejoined the stork, "it is three full years since I last suckled." The calf looked at him with contempt: "Indeed, what food you must have been living on—to have such legs."

Among Esopic animals without Esopic tendency this is a charming little story. For the moral of this fable is that the animal world had its ordines, its ranks and classes, each of them its "regula," its rules and sets of values. There is not a hidden bit of a criticism of social conditions, but a criticism of the folly of the attempt to transfer the scale of values from one "ordo" to another. Stork's legs are good for storks, cow milk is perfect for calves . . . the fable recognizes, indeed underlines the inequality of creatures created dissimilar; this fable teaches gradualism.

In a collection of fables which Egbert of Liège gathered about 200 years later, the loser is all too often he who tries to confuse the structure, the order of the state of animals. Egbert, by the way, uses the term “vulgares fabelli” which almost repeats the phrase “rustica fabula” of the seventh century chronicler Fredegar. The attributes of the fable are vulgar, rustic, and rude; it is low literature. Its appearance at the court of Charlemagne can only partly be explained by the well-known folkloristic leanings of his academy of which its collection of national epics in the vernacular is sufficient proof. Educational tendencies, however, carry here greater weight, and the Latin Esop (by Avianus, ca. 450) was to become the veritable schoolbook of the Middle Ages. Even the Cluniac reformer Konrad of Hirsau who puts the Roman classics to a loyalty test agrees upon intense reading of Esop. I doubt that the pedagogues of the 11th century meant to extend the educational usefulness to the ethics of the fables which were not so harmless after all; their study was recommended as an exercise in allegory. To the medieval mind, and still so in the thinking of Melanchthon, the dove and raven of Noah are symbols for the prophets and the enemies of the Church respectively.² Similarly, wolf and lamb of the fable are tyranny and Christian meekness. Thus, the monastic scholars could study Ovid, Terence, Horace, whose ethics are unchristian in their literal sense. Their poems vibrate with overtones which the scholar was supposed to make generally audible by his interpretation. The *Song of Songs* sounds like a love poem, smells, looks and tastes like a voluptuous love potion, but must obviously be thought of as a symbol for the longing of the soul, “Anima,” for the union with her Saviour. When the fable tells some story of the animal kingdom, it obviously does not mean that animals really speak, reflect, smile, act; it uses the fictitious world of the fairy tale by way of metaphor for the real world. The disguise is so obvious that a child can find out that there is not any real meaning except the allegorical. The medieval scholar knows that reality will manifest itself in allegories only. Before the “Via moderna,” the “Nominales,” threatens the world of scholastic ideas, the “Reales,” or the “Antiqui,” recognize ideas, and ideas only, as realities. Since concrete objects exhibit individual traits, only that part of their attributes can be called real which contains a bit of the general

idea. The fable actually exemplifies the general in a particular, or, in other words, it offers a permanent moral behind transparent and even fluid details. The fable is scholasticism reduced to the size of the child, and of the layman. The middle-high German word for fable is in fact "bîspel," "exemplum," illustration, symbol; something that means more than it says, that accentuates the reflected meaning while the pretended reality of the action points like a finger post to the reflected as the real reality. Steinhöwel, in his preface, makes this clear enough when he advises: "whoever wants to read this book must do as the bees do, not heed the color of the flowers, that is to say the stories, but attend to the sweetness of honey and the good wax, *i.e.* to the good teachings, therein contained."

All over western Europe an early bloom of Esopism can be observed around 1150 under the impact of Bernardian reform ideas and their appeal to the masses. In Germany there is the *Kaiserchronik* in which the fable takes the form of a message which serves as a concealed warning to a prince to avoid a certain court; the messenger represents the loyal counsellor who must speak *sub rosa* for diplomatic reasons. In the epigrams of the Herger, the so-called Older Spervogel, the narrator also assumes the role of an adviser; Walter of England does much the same around 1170. Alexander Neckam uses Walter as a model 30 years later, and the famous preacher Odo of Chertiton follows the same pattern around 1220. Teacher and preacher use the "exemplum," the "bîspel," the fable as a flowerpot of morals. I should not omit the rather legendary English *King Aelfred* whom Marie de France claims as the source of her collection of fables, undoubtedly written before the end of the 12th century. Marie became the favorite source of many collections of later fabulists and must have been widely known; it does not happen often that 23 manuscripts of a 12th century text come down to us.

In Germany, 1200 is the time of the Staufian classical period. Chrétien de Troyes was succeeded by Heinrich von Veldeke, Hartmann von Aue, Wolfram von Eschenbach, and Gottfried von Strassburg in the epic genre; the masters of the "Minnesang," Reinmar, Morungen, Walther, infest the courts of the princes and high dignitaries of the Church, and inveigle them into becoming patrons. All branches of literature are revitalized, so that we can

expect the fable to follow the trend, *e.g.*, 1150: the fable of the "Emperor's Chronicle"; 1165: Herger's fables; 1180, Heinrich the "glîchezaere" (a word which may mean that he writes parables) works at a German adaptation of the *Roman de Renard*, of which nothing exists save a post-classical remodeling of ca. 1230. This means a jump from 1180 to 1230, a gap of 50 years which I cannot fill with any fables. This half century, completely barren of Esopic literature, is known as "Glanzzeit des Rittertums." In 1184, when Heinrich von Veldeke declaims parts of his *Eneid* at the May festival at Mayence before Emperor Frederic I and 20,000 of his knights, when he establishes the noble style of chivalric epic, the "vulgares fabellae" are banished. This is not quite so true of the Bible although it ceases to be THE book of books. We can generally accept that the ideals of chivalry are not contrary to Christian doctrine, neither do they follow it too closely. King Arthur is not King David, though he regards himself as David's cousin, three times removed. Under these circumstances we cannot expect an extensive literature on biblical subject matter, with the exception of some crusaders' hymns; indeed, spiritual literature commences when chivalry has passed its apex, *i.e.*, shortly before 1250. As far as I know, there is only one exception, the *Kindheit Jesu*, an epic about the childhood of Jesus which was written before 1210 by an Austrian knight who employed Hartmann's filigree technique for a biblical topic; but even here the central episode is devoted to the "Minne" between Joseph and Mary, and knighthood is not refused by Christ, who is never old enough for the accolade. The fable cannot reach court society until the poet himself no longer feels completely in harmony with it. He must be estranged, looked down upon in order to be able to cast oblique and ironically respectful glances at his superiors. This is precisely the position of Stricker around 1225; he is no nobleman and not duty bound to any prince; he writes for remuneration, "a horse and a cloak," writes to order in any desired idiom. His Arthurian epic applies a vocabulary different from that of the *Historia* about Charlemagne; in his pranks, entitled *Pfaffe Amis*, he hits upon the facile and facetious tone which goes back to Petrus Alphonsi. His many fables are obviously "exempla," functioning as effective ends of sermons, and perhaps

ordered for that purpose; didactic masterpieces, they pillory the vices of a new era: greed, ambition, and avarice.

The fable seconds the decline of chivalry and the rise of city culture; it ornaments the theological literature much in the same manner as gargoyles decorate Gothic architecture. The second half of the 13th century is known as the interregnum, a transition period; the forced transplanting from Rome to Avignon of the Holy See in 1309 extends and deepens this transition with attendant insecurities in religious as well as political life. Well reflected are these conditions in the collections of mystical treatises and sermons, epigrammatic writings, and numerous fables. Between 1250 and 1300 manuscripts appear of the *Freidank*, the Marner, Hugo of Trimberg, Koenig from Odenwald, Konrad von Ammenhausen, the *Isopet* of Flanders, all of them interlarded with fables. As so often in the history of literary genres, the fable of a pre-chivalresque period is revived after the fall of chivalry. While there is hardly a fable alive around 1200, every country has its great fabulist by 1400. England has her Lydgate; Holland the *Isopet*; Bohemia her Heinrich von Muegeln; Italy a Caffarello; Lower Germany her Gerhard von Minden; Upper Germany a Boner who wrote his widely known collection of 100 rhymed fables under the title *Der Edelstein*. The last is derived from the famous fable of the rooster (no. 1) who does not know how to use the pearl he has found under the dunghill. The Latin word for pearl is *margarita*, used by Phaedrus and by Avianus and by Romulus; its medieval German equivalent is *mêrgriez*, found and verified e.g. in Stricker's version of 1230. Yet Marie de France, whose English source is based on a certain version of *Romulus*, the so-called *Romulus Nilantii*, entitles the fable "De gallo et gemma"; the entire European fable literature henceforth follows either *Romulus* or *Romulus Nilantii*. Marie de France entitles her fifth fable "De cane et caseo," justly, for her Latin source offers "De cane ferente in ore caseum." Although cheese is not among the pet dishes of canines, the Flemish, Low German, English and Italian persist in serving that "caseum" which is a distortion of "carnem." The *Isopet* of Lyons from the early 13th century has the better reading: "De cane carnem ferente" (Anonymus Neveleti). Here, too, the meat/cheese border splits Europe into two spheres of influence.

A geographical map showing the frequency of fable manuscripts would prove that their denseness coincides with urban trade centers: Flanders, Holland, the cities of the Hanseatic League, Minden, Magdeburg, Halberstadt; Prague in Bohemia, the cities of the Po Valley, the rich capital of the powerful canton Berne, home town of Boner, leave no doubt fables thrive in the protecting shade of city walls and city civilization. There, to be sure, they seem to lose their religious zeal and their moral message. As we approach the age of the Renaissance we can discern the growth of farcical elements among collections of fables. As a matter of record, Luther's purpose of re-editing Esop was prompted by his desire to purge them of additions made by such Epicureans as Boccaccio, Poggio and others. But already Phaedrus had included the story of the "Woman of Ephesus," thus mixing the world of the fable with that of the fabliau, or—to speak Esopian—hiding pearls under dunghills. Therefore it is wrong to charge the libertine humanists with the pollution of the virtuous Esopic fable; the farcical element is a legitimate part of the antique fable; it is the stigma of its low origin. The growth of the farce is not so much a result of the rise of the Renaissance, but an upshot of the rise of the bourgeois to literary majority. It is not the fable alone that is used as a vehicle of the obscene; we are used to finding uncouth and very indecent scenes in urban miracle and resurrection plays. I mention the extremely "realistic" portrayal of main characters in French passion plays or of the crass "epicurean" details of town life in the pitchman scene of the German Muri play as early as 1250. It is the genre of the fable as "vulgaris" and "rusticalis" that makes allowance for elements of the jest, the farce, and the obscenity. If, on the one hand, the dividing line between fable and "exemplum" remains fluid, neither is there on the other hand a distinct line of demarcation between fable and farce. A Paris *Promptuarium exemplorum* of 1322 contains not only 26 fables of Marie de France but also a tale after Petrus Alphonsi which clearly belongs to the "fabliaux genre." All this, "exemplum" as well as fable and farce, is not pure, but purely functional literature.

It is very probable then that a new aristocracy, Humanism will put an end to the "rusticas, vulgares fabellas." Now it is the university which is the temple of culture, no longer the court, nor

yet the market place. Therefore it seems an anomaly that the first book printed in the German vernacular (1461, in the solemn type of Gutenberg's 36-line vulgate Bible) should be Ulrich Boner's *Edelstein*. Since a reprint is also to be dated 1461, this was a publisher's dream come true. How surprising is this success of a book of fables by a cleric who had died a century ago and had written in a now obsolete idiom dabbling in antiquities. We have entered the anteroom of Humanism; 1461 means the eve of an age of enlightenment with its unlimited confidence in critical methods and free criticism. Nothing written is sacrosanct, not even the Scripture, and nothing written is negligible. The princes in this republic of letters solemnize the gift of criticism founded on reason, and set out to castigate folly as the deadly sin. And yet even now, Valla devotes his schooled pen to Babrius and his boorish fables; Pfister disseminates the nursery tales of the Swiss Dominican in print and reprint; Abstemius, the distinguished librarian at the Court of Urbino, ennobles his own collection of 100 fables by calling them "Hekato-mythium," reviving the old Greek term for fable, myth. This is the very reverential word for the "rustica fabella," meaning truth, veiled and revealed. At the same time, probably in 1477, a treasure chest of fables is welded together by the Swabian humanist, physician, statesman, linguist, writer, and historian Steinhöwel, replete with Planudes' life of Esop, with Romulus, Rimicius, Avianus, Extravagantes, Poggio, etc., all of this in Latin on one side and German on the other. This print signals the conquest of Europe by the fable. It was, in the words of Stammler, not only reprinted and re-edited in various versions time and again throughout a quarter of a millennium, but it was translated into French, English, Spanish, Dutch and Czech. A comparison with Boner's fables clearly shows the predominance of the farcical. Through centuries the main figure of jests and slapstick comedy had been the boorish peasant, the "Hans Wurst." In the age of the Peasants' War, however, "Hans Wurst" has turned into "Karsthans"; "karst = hoe," which had been his rustic tool, becomes his weapon; he is no longer the funny person of the jest; there, his place is taken by the animal; the farce changes into the fable. A new conception of the dignity of man may also have contributed to the aversion of the humanist to picture him as "Hans Wurst." There are

political reasons, however, which forbid pillorying folly as the exclusive property of the lowest class in society. The transfer of folly to the animal kingdom may mean that it is not the number of legs, or of acres, or of titles, but of virtues that distinguishes the kingdom of man from that of beast.

It is therefore quite obvious that the tendencies of the new age are conducive to the fable genre; they could be considered a vehicle for the "Weltanschauung" of the Renaissance and of the Reformation and of the social revolution. The fable seems to be the one genre which unites the many contradictory tendencies of this chaotic epoch; it is acceptable to both the people and the "literati," since it presents a simple story to the one, and a critique to the other; the fable offers down to earth truth in classical garb, reconciles moralism with epicurism, and at the same time intellectualism with "grobianism"; and so its venerated include the great academician Erasmus and the naive cobbler Hans Sachs. The "rustica fabella" might be simple and rude, but so are the bucolic *Idyls* of Theocritus, the pastoral poems of Virgil, the admired romance of *Daphnis and Chloë*. There is an unmistakably primitivistic vein in humanistic literature; its fable shows the compatibility of simplicity with intelligence. Peasant and fool were no longer synonyms as in the feudalistic poetry of the 13th century. Even the animal kingdom was governed by good sense, shrewdness and wit.

Esop is the most widely read author of the century from 1470 to 1570, and the most plagiarized to boot. A list of "borrowers" shows all the literary names: Sebastian Brant and Johannes Pauli, Hans Sachs and Murner, Burkhard Waldis and Erasmus Alberus, Sebastian Franck the mysticist, and Agricola the philologist, Mathesius the theologian, and Fischart the fiction writer, the epic poet Rollenhagen, and the epigrammatist Chytraeus. We note an illuminating little detail: in 1593, Esop colonizes the Far East in the form of a Japanese edition, prepared by Jesuit missionaries who did not rely upon the Bible alone.

After that, silence. After 1600 I know of only one lonely voice raised for the defence of Esop, that of the popular and even somewhat vulgar Viennese preacher Abraham a Santa Clara. I should mention here the Frankfort print of a *Mythologia aesopica*, a very scholarly work containing 782 fables or versions of fables com-

piled by Nevelet; the significant fact about this learned book of 1610 is that its author, son of a French Protestant, had left France about the year 1600 to settle down in the free Swiss republic of Basle. This is an indication that out of reach of Versailles, in a free middle-class society, Esop is thriving even in the 17th century. May the fable continue to grow in the social twilight of some popular churches or of city republics. It is expelled from court. The château has replaced the lecture hall; the great philosophers, mathematicians, astronomers, and linguists are no longer professors and townspeople but courtiers. The sage of the new age is the cynical Baltasar Gracian. The skepticism of Machiavelli's *Principe* is multiplied in the "Oraculo manual"; the prince should be treated like fire; the courtier should not go so far from him that he no longer benefits from the warmth of his favor, nor should he approach close enough to him to be set alight and consumed. This is the conception of the "roi-soleil" where the prince is the source of favor, as the sun is that of light. As the moon and the stars derive their light from the sun, so all his subjects derive their position and importance from him alone. The fixed and immutable order in this system which takes the place of a religion causes a preacher at a small West German court to say in a sermon:

Dann gleich wie die Sonne oben am Himmel von Gott gemacht und erschaffen ist; und ist ein rechtes Wunderwerck des Allerhöchsten: also sind auch Könige Fürsten und Herren von Gott ins Weltliche Regiment gesetzt und verordnet, Dannenhero sie Götter genennet werden. . . . Von der Sonne haben der Mond und alle Sterne ihr Liecht und Schein. . . . Also haben Räthe, Beamte und Dienere auch insgemein alle Untertanen nechst Gott von ihren *Fürsten* und *Herrn* ihre Ehre und zeitliche Wohlfahrt.

The Esopic perspective which still treats the king of beasts as a beast is no longer tolerated. Now, the king rises as a sun. And his literary spokesman in Germany, Opitz, calls fables that genre "welches sonderlich der gemeine Mann zu hören geneigt ist." What to Melanchthon was the "begnadetste" literary species, "closest to God and most biblical next to the Bible," one century later is called the silliest. Only 70 years after Hans Sachs, Harsdörffer, renowned colleague of Opitz, closes the chapter of Esop with the contemptuous words: "Fabel ist Dichtung für

Kinder und alte Weiber." The age of absolutism finishes the fable, "rustica fabula," vulgar and sly in its unseizable spirit of social criticism.³

The place of the fable in literature indicates the place of the commoner and townsman in society. The century from 1470 to 1570 is the century of the middle classes in Germany, the age of Renaissance as Ferguson would call it, the century of the fable. Esop never lived if not as a slave, and Phaedrus was a freedman of emperor Augustus, probably a frustrated friend of the common man.

NOTES

1. Here I should mention Rabbi Meir who, working in the 2nd century after the Hadrianic repressions under rather unstable conditions, is reported to have known 300 fox fables and gained the reputation of having been the last great fabulist. On Meir's place in the history of the fable see J. Jacobs, *The Fables of Aesop*, London, 1889, v. 1, pp. 111 *et seq.*
2. Compare Melanchthon's preface to a collection of fables by Camerarius where he states that nothing is as related to the biblical stories as the fables. In the story of Noah's ark, the raven stands for all the enemies of the Church, the epicureans, the bishops, the sellers of indulgences, and the Dove is Isaiah, Paul, Augustin, the friends of the ark, which means the Church.
3. Lafontaine, the great fabulist of 17th century France, is by no means at variance with this presentation of the fable as an instrument for social criticism, as Th. Spoerri showed in an admirable article (*Trivium* I: 31-63) whose significant title is "Der Aufstand der Fabel."

Die Grumbachischen Händel

LYMAN W. RILEY*

THE University of Pennsylvania Library recently acquired a group of 16th century German pamphlets that document the last struggle of the German knights against the territorial princes of the Empire. This "Grumbachische Händel" takes its name from the rather sinister figure who was the instigator and director of the abortive revolt, a Franconian knight, Wilhelm von Grumbach.

The 11 pamphlets that throw light on Grumbach and his schemes range in length from four to 190 leaves. They are gathered in two volumes bound in vellum; the spine of one is dated in ink: "1684." Paper labels on the spines read: "Grumbach's Sachen mit Würzburg." Each volume has an unidentified coat of arms and a bookplate of Ernst Conrad Stahl pasted in front. Inserted at the front of Volume I is a leaf bearing a woodcut portrait of Grumbach; an inscription reads: "Wilhelm von Grumbach Aetatis sue LXIX 1567."¹

None of the pamphlets has an imprint, although most of them are dated. It has been impossible as yet to determine with certainty all the dates and the places of printing.² At the end of this article the titles of the pamphlets are transcribed in the order in which they occur in the bound volumes. All items, with the exception of number 8, are mentioned in Friedrich Ortloff, *Geschichte der Grumbachischen Händel* (Jena, 1868, 4 volumes).

Wilhelm von Grumbach was an adventurer, a soldier of fortune. Of his early career we know that he fought against the peasants in the revolt of 1525, and that in 1540 he attached himself to Albrecht Alcibiades, "the warlike," Margrave of Brandenburg-Kulmbach. With the Margrave he served the Emperor during the Schmalkaldic War. In 1552, when Albrecht embarked on a private expedition of plunder through Franconia, he was again accompanied by Grumbach. Together they wrested a large sum of money from the city of Nürnberg and seized lands from the prince-bishops of Bamberg and Würzburg.

Grumbach was the feudal vassal of the latter bishop, but the incumbent Melchior von Zobel was his bitter enemy. The earliest

* University of Pennsylvania Library.

of the pamphlets (no. 9) contains the texts of the agreements pertaining to this seizure of 1552 made between Albrecht and Grumbach on the one hand, and Bishop Melchior on the other. By the next year, the depredations of Albrecht had so alarmed other German princes that an alliance was formed against him. This league met him on the field at Sievershausen in 1553, crushed his army, and soon after forced him to flee to France. Grumbach not only lost the booty taken from Würzburg but his own lands were seized by Melchior.

One of the principal sources for our knowledge of Grumbach is his *Klagschrift* of 1556 (no. 1). Here he complains about the false charges made against him by his enemies. He includes in this work part of a poem, "Das Deutschlands Klage," a popular lampoon of himself and Albrecht Alcibiades, probably composed in 1553.³

The other nine pamphlets are dated from 1563 to 1567 and are documents developing out of the major struggle of those years. Melchior von Zobel was assassinated in 1558 (probably at the instigation of Grumbach) but the knight continued his enmity toward the Bishop's successor, Friedrich von Wirsberg.

Two pamphlets bearing the date 1563 mark the opening of the final, bloody phase of the "Händel." Grumbach's *Anzeig, Ausführung und offen Ausschreiben* (no. 6) is a complaint and a threat against the Bishop of Würzburg.⁴ The other (no. 10), dated less than a month later, is the agreement that marks the capitulation of the Bishop to Grumbach who had in the meantime captured and sacked the city. For this deed the knight was placed under the imperial ban.

The longest item in the collection (no. 7) is a point by point answer by Friedrich von Wirsberg to Grumbach's charges in the *Anzeig*. It was written in 1565 and probably printed in Würzburg.

Bound in the same volume with the *Anzeig* are two slighter pamphlets by Grumbach, one a letter to relatives and friends, 1563 (no. 8), the other a message to a council of princes at Worms, 1564 (no. 11).

More important persons than this vendettist figured in the struggle. In 1557 Grumbach had gained Johann Friedrich II, Duke of Saxony, as his protector and abettor. It was revealed to the gullible Duke, through soothsayers employed by Grumbach,

that he was soon to replace his cousin August I as elector of Saxony. Angelic messengers even promised that he would become emperor. It was natural that August should take the lead against this threat to his position, and in the ensuing struggle he had the assistance of Emperor Maximilian II and other German princes.

The remaining four pamphlets in the collection are by the two princely antagonists, the Duke and the Elector of Saxony. Grumbach had tried to have August assassinated during the years 1564–1565; evidence of this plot is presented in *Copeien derer Schriften* between the Duke and the Elector, correspondence and other documents written during 1566 (no. 2).

In May of the same year the imperial ban was reaffirmed against Grumbach and his associates. Johann Friedrich's *Antwort* to this edict, dated July, 1566 (no. 3), includes documents by Grumbach and other actors in this drama. In December the Duke, adamant against all attempts to rid him of Grumbach's influence, was also placed under the imperial ban.

The other two pamphlets are by the Elector August. One, of 1567, replies to the *Antwort* of Johann Friedrich (no. 4). The other, of the same year, is a brief answer to charges brought against him by Grumbach (no. 5).

Duke Johann Friedrich withdrew his forces to the citadel Grimmenstein, at Gotha, in 1566. Early in 1567 an army under August appeared before the fortress, and in April Grimmenstein was taken. Grumbach himself and a number of other leaders were tortured and then killed; Johann Friedrich spent the rest of his days imprisoned in Austria.

The revolt thus ended in complete failure. It was celebrated throughout Germany in a considerable body of popular poems and songs, some for and some against the rebels; August figured in turn as cruel tyrant or defender of rightful authority, Johann Friedrich as dupe or martyr, Grumbach as demon or hero.⁵

DESCRIPTION

VOLUME I.

1. Des Edlen vnd Ehrn-/uesten Wilhelmen vonn Grumpachs/Offne, notgetrangte Klagschafft, vnd wahr-/haffte, gegründte Gegenbericht, über vnd wider Bi-/schoff Weigands zu Bamberg, vnd Bischof Melchiors zu Würtz-/burg auch des vnerbarn pöfels zu

Nürnberg, landfridbrüchige vnd/tyrannische, in vnd ausserhalb Rechts, zugefügte gewaltsam, ge-/gen Ime dem von Grumpach, seinem weib vnd kindern, mit berau-/bung vnd entsetzung aller Irer hab vnnd güter: auch sonderlich sein/des von Grumpachs halben vngescheüchter vnd trutziger, vngehor/samer waigerung der Kai: Mt: vnnd des hailigen Reichs Ime ge-/gebnen vnd zustehenden glaits, vnnd darüber immerwerendem,/feindlichem anmassen, geübt: dessgleichen die falsche, ehrenrürige/schmach vnd iniurien, so sie vilfältiglich, haimlich vnd offentlich, eh-/rendiebisch, wider Gott, ehr, vnd alle erbarkeit, auch bey höch-/ster, verpeenter lebens straf der recht, wider Ine/vnuerschämt aussgegossen/haben . . . [1556]. 139 pages.

Ortloff, v. I, p. 94.

2. Copeien,/Derer Schrifften, so/zwischen dem Churfürsten vnd Her-/tzog Johansfriedrichen dem Mittlern, zu/Sachsen, etc. Graff Günthers von Schwartz-/burgs, vnd Wilhelmen von Grumbachs, Auch/volgends zweier zu Dressden gerechtfer-/tigten Vbeltheter, vnd derer von/jnen erzwungenen vormeinten/Vrgichten halben er-/gangen./Anno 1566./[vignette] 102 leaves.

Ortloff, v. III, p. 211.


3. Copey/Der antwort, so Her-/tzog Johansfridrich zu Sachsen der/ Mittler, etc. des Reichs abgesand-/ten Botschafften, auff jr anbringen/vnd werbung, Wilhelmen von/Grumbachs, Ernst von Man-/delslo, vnd Wilhelmen/vom Steins hal-/ben gegeben./[vignette] Anno M.D.LXVI./59 leaves.

Ortloff, v. III, p. 186.

4. Notwendige warhaffte/verantwortung, beständige ablehnunge/vnd wiederlegung der vngegründten bezichtigung vnd/auflagen, damit der Durchlauchtigst Hochgeborne/Fürst vnd Herr, Herr Augustus Hertzog zu Sach-/sen, Churfürst [et]c. vnd Burggraff zu Magdeburgk,/von Hertzog Johans Friedrichen von Sachsen, als/der erklernten Echter, Wilhelmen von Grumbachs,/vnd seiner anhenger, Auch öffentlicher Landfriedbre-/cher vnd Strassenreuber Receptatorn vñ Schützern,/in der Antwort, welche er den 12. tag Julij nechstuor/schienen, des Reichs Gesandten vffm Schlos Grim-/menstein zu Gotha gegeben, Auch in den Schrifften,/die er an etzliche fürneme Chur vnd Fürsten gethan,/Vnd hernach durch den Druck hin vnd wider aus-/gesprengt, zu der Römischen Key. Mayt. auch/seiner Churf. G. höchsten verachtung vnnd/verunglimpfung one allen grundt vnd/warheit, vnuerschuldter sachen/beschwert vnd verleumbdet/worden./Anno/M.D.LXVII./106 leaves.

Ortloff, v. III, p. 393.

5. Kurtze vorantwor-/tung des Churfürsten zu Sachsen, Hertzo-/gen Augusti, [et]c. etlicher erdichteten vnwarhafftigen/Bezichtigung

halben, So durch die erklerten Echter/vnd jren Receptatorn wider seine Churf. G. ausgebrei-/tet worden. Als ob dieselbige vnder dem schein, gegen-/wertiger von wegen der Key. May. vnnd des heyli- gen/Reichs, befohlten Execution, die ware Christliche Re-/ligion ausrotten. Die Graffen, Herren, vnd vom/Adel vordrücken, Auch Hertzogen Johans/Friderichen von Sachsen, gewesne/Lande vnd Leute ansichbrin-/gen wolte, [et]c./M.D.LXVII./8 leaves.

Cf. Ortloff, v. IV, pp. 72–73.

VOLUME II.

6. Der Edlen vnd Ernvhe-/sten, Wilhelmen von Grumbachs, Ern-/sten von Mandesloe, vnd Wilhelmen vom/Stein zum Altenstein, Warhaffte, gegründte, vnd/vnuerneinliche Anzeig, Ausführung, vnd offen Ausschreiben./Welcher gestalt, vnd vber das sie hievor von dem Bischoff zu Wirtzburg/vnschuldiglich vnd jemerlich, von jren Haben vnd Narung, Landfried-/brüchiger weis, Zum teil verjagt, vertrieben, das jre geplündert, ver-/brendt, sie darzu vor jm vnsicher, vnd Leibs vnd Lebens gefahr aus-/stehen müssen. Dieweil er jnen vber alle Rechthengigkeit, auch trotzli-/chen alle Reichs vergleitung geweigert, Auch stetigs nach Leib vnd/Leben getracht. Darzu auff jüngstuerloffenen Reichstag zu Augs-/purg, der Röm. Kay. Mai. vnd den Churfürsten des Rheins, sich trotz-/lich vnd vngehorsamlich widersetzt, Vnd keinen Frieden leiden noch/anne- men wöllen, Sondern vber alles gnedigst vnd trewhertzig Verma-/nen, auff seinen Landfriedbrüchigen Thaten verstockt vnd verhar- ret./Dardurch sie von Grumbach, Mandesloe, vnd Stein, höch- lichen, vnd/wider jren willen, von jm (dem Wirtzburger Bischoff) dahin ge-/drungen, die natürlich erlaubt Gegenwehr, gegen solchen vnru-/gen Landfriedbrecher fürzunehmen, Vnd nach vermöge des/ Landfriedens, gebürende veruolgung zu thun, Auch mit/jtzt erlangter Hülff, vnd jren beysamen habenden/Freunden, one einiges anders Stands des/Reichs verletzung, Das jre widerumb/zu recuperieren vnd einzunehmen,/Auch jnen gebürende si-/cherheit zu schaffen,/im vorhaben vnd/werck sein/. . . [1563]. 52 leaves.

Ortloff, v. I, pp. 387–388.

7. Des Hochwirdi-/gen Fürsten vnd Herren,/Herren Friderichen Bischofes zu Würtz-/burg vnnd Hertzogen zu Francken, warhaffte vnnd ge-/gründte verantwortung vnd ableynung, des vnwarhaff-/ten erdichten vnd grundlosen schand vnd lasterbuchs, wel-/ches des Stiftts Würtzburg, trewlose, Eyduergesse-/ne Lehenmenner, Auch mutwillige Auffrörer, offenbare/Landfridbrecher vnd Echter, die sich nennen Wilhelm von/Grumbach, Wilhelm vom Steyn, vnd Ernst von Man-/dessloe, zu vermeinter beschönung jrer hochsträfli- chen, auf-/rürischen, Eyd vnd Ehrnuergessner, Landfridbrüchi- ger,/Tyrannischer, Mörderischer, Verretherischer vbelthaten,/

wider hochermelten Fürsten, vnnnd ein Ehrwirdig Thumb-/capitel zu Würtzburg, im drey, auch vier vnd sechtzigstem/Jar, im Truck aussgehen, vnnnd im Heyligen Reych/allenthalben publicieren vnd ver-/schieben lassen./Summarischer Inhalt dises Buchs, wird/in nechstuolgendem Register befunden./M.D.LXV./8 unnumbered, 182 numbered leaves.

Ortloff, v. II, pp. 149–150.

8. Copia Wilhelm von/Grumbachs, vnd seiner Mituerwand-/ten, an jre Oheim, Vettern, Schwe-/ger, vnd Freunde etc./[1563?]. 4 leaves.

9. Copia etlicher Vertre-/ge, So der Bischoff von Wirtzburg mit/Marggraff Alberten zu Brandenburg/etc. vnd Wilhelmen von Grum-/bach, auffgericht./[1552?]. 11 leaves.

Cf. Ortloff, v. I, p. 43.

10. Copia des Vertrags,/zwischen dem Bischoff zu Wirtzburg,/vnd Wilhelm von Grumbach./[1563]. 5 leaves.

Cf. Ortloff, v. I, p. 421.

11. Copia des Schreibens,/so an meine gnedigste vnd gnedige Herrn/die Churfürsten vnd Fürsten, auff den 4./Februarij dieses instehenden 64. Jars,/zu Wormbs bey einander versamlet,/Wilhelm von Grumbach vnter-/thenigst vnd vnterthenig/ausgehen lassen,/vnd vber-/sandt./[1564]. 19 leaves.

Ortloff, v. II, p. 11.

NOTES

1. Grumbach was born in 1503 and so was 64, not 69, at the time of his death in 1567. I have not been able to determine the source of this portrait. Another of the same date is reproduced in Gustav Droysen, *Geschichte der Gegenreformation*, Berlin, 1893, p. 83.
2. It is known that Thomas Rebart printed pro-Grumbach pieces at Gotha in 1566–1567, and that Hans Baumann worked for Grumbach's enemies in Würzburg about the same time; cf. Josef Benzing, *Buchdruckerlexikon des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1952, pp. 65, 189.
3. Albrecht accused his enemies in Nürnberg of having Hans Sachs compose the poem; cf. Ortloff, v. I, p. 69. Sachs did write two poems against Albrecht, in 1553 and 1554; cf. Edmund Goetze, "Hans Sachs als Gegner des Markgrafen Albrecht Alcibiades," *Archiv für Litteraturgeschichte*, VII (1878): 279–303.
4. The names of Grumbach's lieutenants, Ernst von Mandelslohe and Wilhelm von Stein, are associated with him in this title, but it is probably the work of Grumbach alone; cf. Ortloff, v. I, p. 388.
5. Ortloff, v. 4, pp. 546–560 and *passim*.

Publicanda Sed Non Publicata

Under this heading the editor will occasionally point out manuscripts or printed books or broadsides in the Library which seem to him deserving of study and perhaps publication.

I

manapum :

Opifef odi Theophaſus ubi ſup non am
laum habere poſſumus non ſedalem alie
mif amorem ſuum odium ſupſentur mulier et
qualia odia ſunt hec in uinabilia certe cu potens
mulum et idem. Valerius ubi ſup exp cape q
audax eſt ad omnia que amat id odit femina et
artificioſa. am nocere uult q ſemper eſt et
frequenter am. Iuare parat obest

Prima peccat. Pererit raucnis ſinone
reſtationis inquit muier peccati muſa
mih auripaua mortis ſepulchri miffus. Imſen
iungua lamen neceſſitas :

Ouens quaſadio. Ut naſat Valerius ubi
ſup foroncus rex grecorum die qua mo
minis eſt dicit leonio fil ſuo ad ſumam feliam
ram. nichil michi de eet ſi michi uxor ſemper
deſuiſſ. Cui leonius. a quo uxor obſtat at ille

Italian fifteenth century manuscripts on vellum containing on leaves 2-6 an apparently unpublished *Alphabetum malarum mulierum*, an "antifeminist alphabet," consisting largely of quotes from classical authors and from the Bible. The text appears not to be known, and is textually and linguistically interesting.

Qui me non nisi editis novit, non novit¹

PAUL SCHRECKER*

WHEN, on the fourteenth of November 1716, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz died, intestate, in Hanover, his nephew and sole heir, Pastor Friedrich Simon Loeffler, a somewhat greedy philistine, realized the value of the books and papers of his uncle to which the windfall of this inheritance gave him a title. While he readily abandoned to the Court of Hanover the calculating machine, an invention on which Leibniz had spent an enormous amount of work and a small fortune, he drove a hard bargain for the manuscripts the writer of which he had hardly known. The court, on the other hand, was unwilling to part with papers among which there were some referring to highly secret negotiations. We can only be thankful that eventually an agreement was attained,² for what would have happened to this treasure had Loeffler taken it with him to Leipzig can only be guessed. Dispersion to the four winds would have been the least unfavorable fate. Fortunately for us, all these books and papers are still where Leibniz had accumulated them during forty years of his life, in the former Royal Public Library (now Lower Saxony State Library) in Hanover.

Due to a strange habit of Leibniz, these archives offer a unique record not only of the work but also of the working of this genius, the like of which we possess of scarcely any other great figure of the past. For Leibniz apparently ignored the institution of the wastebasket. Not only did he preserve all his own drafts, copies or abstracts of his letters, memoranda, notes, even papers he had left unfinished or had rejected, even the most unimportant and inconsequential jottings. He did the same with all the letters he received from about twelve hundred correspondents all over the world, those of Spinoza, Malebranche, Bossuet, Huygens, the Bernoullis, Gilbert Burnet, Sir Isaac Newton, Muratori, Madeleine de Scudéry, of course, but also that of an obscure alchemist who begged for an old winter coat in return for which he promised to teach Leibniz's valet the secret of making gold. He did the same with his administrative files, expense accounts, booksellers'

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and other bills, medical prescriptions (a lot of these), copies of historical documents, and masses of unclassifiable papers. In short, he must have been unable to discard any sheet of paper on which there was some writing.

For a long time the very existence of this mine of historical information remained practically unknown. When, in 1768, Louis Dutens edited the first *Opera omnia* of Leibniz he included, with insignificant exceptions, only the already printed though widely scattered writings. For a century the library administration seems not to have cared much for this possession, since hardly anything was done to bring some systematic order into the chaotic mass of papers, and occasionally a distinguished visitor was given a manuscript as a souvenir. Only about the middle of the XIXth century did this deplorable neglect subside. Scholars of the rank of G. E. Guhrauer, G. H. Pertz, Count Foucher de Careil, C. I. Gerhardt, Onno Klopp, and above all Eduard Bode-mann, the erudite librarian of the Royal Library, catalogued, ordered, and partly edited the unpublished manuscripts and correspondence, and the Hanoverian archives thus became a Mecca for Leibniz students of all countries.

Yet the immense effort spent over a century on utilizing these treasures was neither sufficient nor entirely successful. Some comprehensive editions were stopped long before they could be completed because of political interdicts against the editors (the Prussian Government, for instance, barred Onno Klopp from the library of Hanover because of his Guelphic and Catholic sympathies), or were interrupted by the death of the editor, or were undertaken by not adequately competent scholars who spread regrettable misreadings and misunderstandings, or selected the material for publication according to subjectively biased and time-bound principles. Sometimes, and not too infrequently, items were omitted simply because the editor did not understand them or was unable to read them. Nobody ought to be blamed too much for omissions of the former kind. For certain ideas of Leibniz, particularly in logic and mathematics, began to make sense only when the contemporary development had caught up with anticipations in the work of the great forerunner. And, finally, no single scholar of our days, however many-sided and comprehensive his intellectual culture, would or should dare to

follow and appreciate Leibniz's thought in all the areas of his all-embracing and creative endeavors. King Frederick II of Prussia is generally credited with having said that Leibniz represented in himself an entire academy. As a matter of fact, long before the Prussian monarch, the *Mémoires pour l'histoire des sciences* (better known as the *Journal de Trévoux*), reporting in a letter from Germany Leibniz's appointment as president of the recently founded Academy of Berlin, had already stated that "il vaut lui seul une compagnie toute entière."³ This, it will be noted, was written during his lifetime in a periodical published by the Jesuits.

The history of practically any field in human civilization would have to include for the XVIIth century, a chapter or at least a paragraph, on Leibniz's contributions if all his work were known. The man who created one of the few great and original systems of philosophy, who invented the infinitesimal calculus, the theory of determinants, the "Analysis situs," and the logical calculus, who discovered the correct estimation of "vis viva," and first conceived of the principle of least action, who constructed a perfectly working computing machine, also conceived and drafted a plan for the Suez Canal, was one of the diplomatic agents for the elevation of the House of Hanover to the electorate and later its accession to the throne of Great Britain, was the founder and first president of the Prussian Academy of Sciences and instigator of its sister institutions in Leipzig, Vienna, and St. Petersburg, and worked lifelong for the union and reunion of the Christian churches. And the same man was one of the first critical historiographers, one of the founders of the doctrine of international law, was a comparative linguist and a mining engineer, a Bible interpreter and a sinologist, a historical geologist and a promoter of the newly discovered ipecacuanha, and a poet whose Good Friday hymn, *Jesus am Kreuze*, has been included in a large number of Lutheran hymnals in Germany.⁴

The more the many facets of his work became known, the more the idea was accepted that any adequate edition of this encyclopaedic author would demand the co-operative effort of many specialists, and that such an enterprise, to be carried out successfully, would require the institutional facilities of an Academy, or still better, and more in tune with Leibniz's own cosmo-

politan mind, of an international body of learned societies. Consequently in 1901 the International Association of Academies took up the idea and charged the Academies of Berlin and Paris with the execution of the plan to publish a complete and critical edition of all the extant writings of Leibniz. For this ambitious project, the co-operation of expert political historians, philosophers, and mathematicians in France and Germany was assured and the first step, the building up of inventories of the manuscripts and printed material preserved in Hanover and elsewhere and of the necessary critical apparatus, got well under way.

But alas, the course of world history which so often before had brought similar undertakings to a stop, interrupted and eventually strangled this monumental attempt. The First World War buried it under the ruins of Franco-German relations, and the only witnesses of this international co-operation are two fascicules of the planned "Critical Catalogue" of Leibniz's written work, which cover but his early years and are not complete even for that period. When that war ended, the Prussian Academy of Sciences, mindful at last of its debt of honor toward its long neglected, at times even defamed, founder and first president, decided to continue alone work on the edition. Again a staff of experts and specialists set about the task of publishing about forty (which probably would have become fifty) volumes in quarto of Leibniz's writings, divided into six series; of these, up to this date, seven imposing volumes have been published (four of the general, political, and historical correspondence, one of the philosophical correspondence, one of the political and one of the philosophical writings), but nothing as yet of the mathematical and scientific series.

Hitler's domination of Germany and the ensuing Second World War again interrupted the enterprise. Some of the "non-aryan" editors were dismissed, other collaborators died, and finally, when Berlin was occupied by the Allies, the editors who had remained left for the West, since the Prussian Academy, at which the whole apparatus built up in half a century is preserved, fell into the Russian Zone. The former Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, now renamed Deutsche Akademie, still seems willing to continue work on the edition and the last published volume, the manuscript of which had been ready for print before

the war, was indeed brought out under the Russians; but whoever has an intimate knowledge of the tremendous difficulties of this scholarly enterprise and of the painstaking learning it demands of the editors will be skeptical about the possibility of carrying out the project with a new staff that cannot benefit from the experience of people who have spent a lifetime with Leibniz. At any rate, it is a safe prediction that no one alive today will witness completion of the edition.

Should all work on Leibniz be suspended then for an indefinite length of time, should all the historical and systematic problems depending on the knowledge of unprinted sources be frozen until they may not be topical any longer? Since we are far from perpetual peace, should the treasure of Hanover be again exposed to the danger of irretrievable loss which it fortunately escaped during the heavy bombing of the city? These and similar considerations prompted two students of Leibniz, John W. Nason, then President of Swarthmore College, and this writer who has spent a considerable part of his life studying and editing Leibniz, to conceive a few years ago the project of applying the modern technique of microfilming to the task of preserving and making accessible to interested scholars the unpublished manuscripts of Hanover. They were fortunate enough to find sympathetic understanding at the Library of Congress and the Library of the University of Pennsylvania whose Director, Dr. Charles W. David, with his assistant Rudolf Hirsch, has indefatigably and efficiently pursued this difficult project, and finally the help of The Rockefeller Foundation whose Division of the Humanities has from the beginning granted its moral support to the plan and has facilitated its realization through a munificent grant-in-aid. The Library of Hanover and the authorities of Niedersachsen have magnanimously consented to permit the filming and to co-operate to that effect, so that there is now every reasonable hope that, in the relatively near future, the microfilm will be deposited at the University of Pennsylvania Library, where it will be available for scholarly work on Leibniz and his time.

The basis for the selection of manuscripts to be reproduced has been furnished by the two catalogues published by Eduard Bodemann,⁵ in part implemented by notes of this writer and his familiarity with these papers. The principle guiding our choice

was to film every unpublished or inaccurately and unreliably published manuscript and letter of (or to) Leibniz which has or might in the future acquire any relevance for biographical, historical or systematic studies. That is to say that only such papers have been omitted for which no reasonable scholarly interest can be conceived, such as most of the many thousand pages of mere abstracts Leibniz made of books he read without writing down any comment, the copies of diplomatic and other documents made by himself or his secretary the texts of which are available elsewhere, the dossiers of his early activity as a judge, the drafts of papers of which the definitive form is known in print or manuscript, provided the successive forms show no significant variations, and similar items which may interest graphologists and would certainly have an immense value for autograph collectors but which would only encumber our microfilms. Even so, these will reproduce about one hundred thousand pages of manuscripts.

Of course, certain printed "Leibnitiana" are not available everywhere; some are, and already were in the XVIIIth century, rarities of the first class; for instance, two philosophic texts published after the Hanover manuscript by Jagodinsky in Charkow shortly before the Russian Revolution of 1917. But he misread them so badly that we would have included them in our list even if copies of the printed books were available in every public and college library of the United States. Other extremely scarce editions have been reprinted long since in some of the later collections. At any rate, it would not have been feasible to reproduce, for instance, the manuscripts of Leibniz's historical works, the original editions of which fill eight enormous volumes in-folio, simply because these volumes are very rare. Moreover, practically all the printed works of Leibniz, including publications of other authors and periodicals which contain articles or letters of his are present in this writer's Leibniz collection, now housed at the University of Pennsylvania, and may be obtained in the usual way through the Library of this University.

A word about the organization of Bodemann's catalogues, which may be useful to future students of the microfilms. Not all letters of or to Leibniz preserved in Hanover are listed in the alphabetically arranged *Briefwechsel*, nor all other manuscripts in

the *Handschriften*. In some cases Leibniz has for his own purpose joined letters to systematically classified folders if they referred to the business under discussion and, vice versa, impersonal drafts may sometimes be found in the correspondence files. Thus many letters concerning the union and reunion of the Christian churches are preserved among the theological manuscripts. A catalogue of the entire correspondence of nearly fifty thousand letters, organized chronologically and according to correspondents, was being prepared by the editors of the Prussian Academy, but is neither complete nor accessible to the public.

Leibniz's handwriting is not easy to read at first. He often covered the same page first horizontally with his lines, then vertically, and not infrequently he used the diagonal dimension in addition, perhaps because the court treasury complained about the high paper bills of the library. Thus it may occasionally take much patience and pains to read the texts; yet, unless there has been physical destruction of parts of manuscripts, practically all of them can be deciphered (with special permission of your ophthalmologist). For unlike many high-speed writers who use a sort of personal stenography, Leibniz wrote out all the letters of a word.

It is to be hoped that the magnificent opportunity which this microfilm offers to students of the humanities in this country will be widely used. What Leibniz himself called the "hortus conclusus," the closed garden, of his doctrines, is thus opened to the learned public at large. Many topics which could not be thoroughly treated before because of the difficulty of consulting the unpublished papers are now awaiting the scholar who is willing and sufficiently prepared to deal with them. Two of them may be mentioned briefly. Leibniz's work in the sciences seems so far to have been by-passed by contemporary research, despite the rise of interest in the history of the sciences. True, his gigantic figure in the history of mathematics has been repeatedly and thoroughly studied and appreciated, even though some points still remain to be clarified. But his contributions to physics, where his anti-Newtonianism created a prejudice against him, to chemistry, to geology, to biology, to medicine, and to the social and political sciences still are generally neglected. Secondly, despite the remarkable and successful efforts expended by Louis Couturat,

Karl Dürr, and others on the study of Leibniz's logic, there has been published so far no comprehensive and critical presentation and appreciation of his achievements which would avail itself of the refined implements of analysis afforded by recent developments in this field.

And, finally, a standard biography of Leibniz remains still a desideratum. Since G. E. Guhrauer, in the year 1842, published his life of Leibniz, a masterful work for his epoch, at least as much more material has come forth as was available a century ago, and the old biography has become outdated. What an enthusiastic Leibnizian wrote in 1783, "Leibniz, the pride of the Germans, still lies unburied"⁶ is true again as it was true then. So long as the unpublished papers were so hard to reach, the debt of honor of the international Republic of Letters to erect a "Monumentum gloriae" to one of its greatest citizens in the form of a biography worthy of the man, could hardly be paid. The author whose complaint we have just quoted added that "it is very doubtful whether Leibniz will ever find a biographer worthy of him."⁷ May the microfilm contribute to make it less unlikely.

NOTES

1. "Who knows me only through my published works, knows me not." Leibniz in a letter to Vincent Placcius, 1696.
2. For details concerning the succession, cf. Leibniz, *Lettres et fragments inédits*, ed. P. Schrecker, Paris, 1934, pp. 16-19, and the literature quoted there.
3. July 1701, p. 131 of the Amsterdam edition.
4. Reprinted in the edition of the Prussian Academy, Ser. I, vol. 4, p. 667.
5. *Der Briefwechsel des G. W. Leibniz in der Kgl. öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Hannover*, Hannover, 1889.—*Die Leibniz Handschriften der Kgl. öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Hannover*, Hannover, 1895.
6. Michael Hissmann, *Versuch über das Leben des Freyherrn von Leibnitz*, Münster, 1783, p. 3.
7. *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

Collected Reprints and the Library

ELIZABETH C. BORDEN*

THE University of Pennsylvania Library is enriched by Mrs. Roland G. Kent's gift of a complete collection of the articles written by Dr. Kent together with the texts of which he was author, co-author, or editor. The collection is supplemented by a significant index volume.

Dr. Kent was a distinguished scholar in the field of classical studies and comparative philology. It is appropriate that the results of his research and his thinking should be in the Library of the University on whose faculty he served for almost fifty years. Indeed, the nature of the Kent collection together with the fact of its donation to the Library make the temptation to point a moral irresistible. Our storehouses of accumulated knowledge (libraries, museums, etc.) would be infinitely enriched through the possession of a greater number of such collections. Students and scholars would find available material that might otherwise be difficult to locate, and the paths of their researches would thus be made less tortuous.

The ideal having been proposed and the moral "pointed," it remains to be acknowledged, of course, that those who write are also human. Parents of publications doubtless exhibit as many variations in conduct with regard to their offspring as do parents of children.

It was characteristic of Roland G. Kent that he should preserve his writings in orderly fashion and supplement them with an index that was built over the years, growing along with his activities. Dr. Kent had a fundamental respect for orderliness, for logical arrangement, for precision in the conduct of affairs, and for the patience exacted thereby. Among the many linguistic questions on which he wrote, the controversy over the value of teaching the classics always had a special attraction for Dr. Kent. He welcomed an opportunity to reaffirm his belief that the study of the classics developed many estimable qualities among which he counted logical continuity of thought and effective working methods.

*University of Pennsylvania Library.

The articles in the Kent collection comprise fifteen volumes uniformly bound and entitled *Papers*. In each volume, articles appear in a variety of forms. Reprints, excerpts from journals, complete issues of journals, and mounted clippings are combined and sewed securely in sturdy bindings. The arrangement of the articles is chronological throughout, from vol. I, covering the years 1899–1912, through vol. XV, covering 1940–46. Articles are numbered serially from [no. 1]—a paper delivered before the Montgomery County Teachers' Institute, Norristown, Pa., in 1898—to [no. 484]—a reprint of a book review from the October 1946 issue of *Classical Philology*. At the beginning of each volume there is a numerical listing of the articles included in the volume. Occasionally a number in an individual volume's table of contents refers the reader to one of the separately bound texts in the collection, for Dr. Kent included the latter by title in their proper chronological sequence in the contents listings in individual volumes of the *Papers*, as well as in the master index volume.

In addition to the fifteen volumes of *Papers*, the collection includes Dr. Kent's dissertation, *A History of Thessaly; Stories from the Far East*, translated and arranged by R. G. Kent and I. Freeman Hall; *The Cipher of Roger Bacon*, by W. R. Newbold, edited by Dr. Kent; two bound volumes of Dr. Kent's articles on Old Persian inscriptions, together with the volume entitled *Old Persian*, published by the American Oriental Society; the several editions of *The Sounds of Latin*, issued as one of the Language Monographs of the Linguistic Society of America, and *The Forms of Latin*, issued as one of the Society's Special Publications; and, finally, The Loeb Classical Library's two-volume edition of *Varro on the Latin Language*, edited, with an English translation, by Dr. Kent.

In most of these volumes, pages of mounted review articles have been inserted. *The Cipher of Roger Bacon* is accompanied by a complete volume containing advertising notices and reviews. This volume is similar in make-up to the volumes of *Papers*. It begins with a numerical listing of its contents, and the numbers and titles of the reviews appear in their proper chronological sequence in the separate index volume.

The *Index* is a unique item. Between its covers there is the outline of a man's professional life, and its arrangement is indicative

of much in that man's personality. The vital quality of the *Index* is due to the fact that it grew with its author, expanded with the pursuits it records. Dr. Kent did not index the subject content of his articles (although some of the sections of the *Index* provide a subject approach); instead, he made a record of people, places, and dates associated with his writings.

The structure of the *Index* is based on two factors: the chronological arrangement of the author's total work and the device of serial numbers used for the purpose of locating individual items. The *Index* might well serve as a model for what librarians term "ready reference." At the beginning of the *Index* is a list by volume number of the volumes of *Papers*, indicating the years covered by each volume and the serial numbers included in each. Then there is the complete, consolidated list of all articles, reviews, and texts in chronological order, with each title preceded by its serial number referring to a volume of *Papers*, a volume of reviews, or a separate issue, as the case may be. Besides these two major listings, there is an alphabetical list of journals, series, and newspapers in which articles appeared. Following the name of each publication in this list appear one or more of the serial numbers assigned to individual articles. Listed in like manner are: "Places at which papers have been read," "Proxy readers," and "Societies and institutions before which papers were read." There is a list of "Co-authors" and of "Reviewers," with appropriate numerical references. Reviews are rather fully indexed by author and by subject matter. Rebuttal articles and their authors also have listings.

Dr. Kent no doubt found pleasure in assembling his papers. Others will derive benefit from his efforts and satisfaction from the availability of the collection.¹

¹ Since then Dr. Walter Woodburn Hyde, Emeritus Professor of Greek and Ancient History has presented a collection of his reprints.—*Ed.*

The Šaulys Collection

Books on Lithuania

VINCAS MACIŪNAS* and KOSTAS OSTRAUSKAS*

IN 1952 the University of Pennsylvania Library acquired a major part of the private library (ca. 1,750 titles, including periodicals and pamphlets) of the late Lithuanian diplomat, Dr. Jurgis Šaulys. Dr. Šaulys was a prominent figure in Lithuanian public life. As a member of the Lithuanian National Council, he was active in the establishment of the Lithuanian State and was a co-signer of the Declaration of Independence of Lithuania; in the diplomatic service, he held the posts of envoy to Germany, the Vatican, Poland, and finally to Switzerland, where he died in 1948. Although Dr. Šaulys was not a practicing scholar, he performed an important service to the world of learning by assembling this notable library. The collection is particularly strong in Lithuanian history of almost every period.

Lithuania occupied an exceptional geographical position, serving as the dividing line between the East and the West, and playing an important part in the historical development of a considerable part of Europe. As a result, Lithuanian history has achieved a significance beyond the country's borders. Germans have shown interest in Lithuanian history because of the activities of the Teutonic Knights against whom the Lithuanians struggled for two centuries; the Russians have exhibited much interest in Lithuania's past because of the latter country's conquest of vast areas of Slavic territories, extending as far as the Black Sea; Poland, however, was the country most intimately connected with early Lithuania, because the unity which existed between the two countries created a great number of common problems. Linguistically, therefore, the Šaulys collection includes materials in Lithuanian, Polish, Russian, and German.

One of the most important sources of Lithuanian history consists of the Archives of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy (*Metryka Magni Ducis Lithuaniae*), transferred to Russia at the end of the 18th century after the dissolution of the Polish-Lithuanian State, and now in Moscow. They were published in part only. The

*University of Pennsylvania Library.

Šaulys collection contains several of the published volumes including the *Materyaly archiwalne wyjęte z Metryki litewskiej od 1348 do 1607 r.*, and four volumes of the *Litovskaia metrika*. Much historical source material was accumulated in the State Archives of Vilna (formerly known as Central Archives of Vilna). Some of these documents are described in *Opis' Dokumentov Vilenskago tsentral'nago arkhiva drevnikh knig*; some were actually published by the Committee for the Examination of Old Documents in Vilna (more commonly known as the Archeographic Committee of Vilna) in its *Akty izdavaemye Vilenskoiu kommissieiu dlia razbora drevnikh aktov* and in monographs outside this series; the Šaulys collection contains several volumes of this series as well as individual titles like the *Reviziia pushch i perekhodov zvierinnykh v byvshem Velikom Kniazhestve Litovskom* (1867–73), the *Ordinatšiu korolevskikh pushch v liēsnichestvach byvshago Velikago Kniazhestva Litovskago* (1871), and the *Pisťovaia kniga grodnenskoj ekonomii* (1881–82).

Further source material may be found in the *Arkheograficheskii sbornik dokumentov* (1867–1914), the *Vetera monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae* (1860–67), and the *Monumenta Poloniae vaticana* (1913–15). The old chronicles of Lithuania are published as vol. 17 (1907) of the *Folnoe sobranie russkikh liētopisei*. Other valuable documents for general Lithuanian history are afforded by *Zbiór praw i przywilejów miastu stołecznemu W.X.L. Wilnowi nadanych*, ed. by P. Dubiński (1788); *Sobranie drevnikh gramot i aktov gorodov: Vil'ny, Kovna, Trok* (1843), *Skarbiec diplomatów*, ed. by Ig. Daniłowicz (1860–62) and scattered volumes of the *Monumenta medii aevi historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*.

Quite logically the collection contains publications on Prussian history, such as the *Scriptores rerum prussicarum* (1861–74); *Preussisches Urkundenbuch* (1882–1939); and *Die Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen im 15. Jahrh.*, ed. by E. Weise (1939). The *Index corporis historico-diplomatici Livoniae, Esthoniae, Curoniae*, ed. by K. E. Napiersky (1833–35), and *Akty i pis'ma k istorii baltiškago voprosa v XVI i XVIII stolietiuakh* (1889–93), provide source material for the history of the Baltic provinces.

Individual historical works published from the 16th to the 18th centuries are represented in the Šaulys collection, and include M. Kromer's *De origine et rebus gestis polonorum libri XXX* (Basel, 1568), *Sarmatiae Europaeae descriptio*, by A. Guagnino (Speyer,

1581), *Michalonus Litvani De moribus Tartarorum, Lituorum et Moschorum* (Basel, 1615), *Regni Poloniae, magnique Ducatus Lituaniae . . . novissima descriptio*, by A. Cellarius (Amsterdam, 1659); *Historia Lituaniae*, by W. W. Kojatowicz (Danzig, 1650-69); *Historischer Bericht von dem marianisch-teutschen Ritter-Orden*, by J. C. Venator (Nuernberg, 1680); *Alt-und neues Preussen*, by C. Hartknoch (Frankfurt, 1684); *Lieflaendische Historia*, by C. Kelch (Reval, 1695); *Histoire de la scission ou division arrivée en Pologne le XXVII. juin MDCXVII au sujet de l'élection d'un roy*, by M. D. de La Bizardière (Paris, 1699), and many other significant titles.

The Šaulys collection contains several incomplete runs of Lithuanian, Polish, and German historical periodicals. Five volumes of the Lithuanian encyclopedia afford some valuable historical articles also, and there are published reports of the Fifth (and Sixth) Conference of Polish Historians, 1930 and 1935, respectively, as well as a report of the First Baltic Conference of Historians in 1937.

General historical works include the *Lietuvos istorija*, ed. by A. Šapoka (1936), *Očerki istorii litovsko-russkago gosudarstva do liublinskoi unii*, by M. K. Liubavskii (1910), *Obraz Litwy*, by J. Jaroszewicz (1844-45), *Geschichte Polens*, by R. Roepell and J. Caro (5 vols., 1840-88), and *Geschichte Preussens*, by J. Voigt (1827-39).

Quite a number of the Šaulys books are devoted to definite periods in Lithuanian history. Prehistoric times are discussed in *Naujausiu proistoriniu tyrinėjimų duomenys*, by J. Puzinas (1938); *Lietuvos archeologijos medžiaga*, by P. Tarasenska (1928); *Žmudž starożytna*, by L. Krzywicki (1906); *Urgeschichte Ostpreussens*, by W. Gaerte (1929); *Kulturen und Völker der Frühzeit im Preussenlande*, by C. Engel and W. La Baume (1937); and such publications as *Congressus secundus archaeologorum balticorum*, Riga, 1930 (1931). Valuable material on Lithuanian archaeology is found in pamphlets and reprints of articles by archeologists, notably, L. Krzywicki, W. Szukiewicz, W. Hołubowicz, F. V. Pokrovskii, T. Daugirdas (Dowgird), J. Puzinas, P. Tarasenska, and others.

Early historical times are treated in *Studia nad dziejami Żmudzi wieku XIII*, by S. Zajaczkowski (1925), *Lietuvių senybės bruožai*, by P. Klimas (1919), and *Studia nad początkami społeczeństwa i państwa litewskiego*, by H. Łowmiański (1931-32).

The reign of Mindaugas marked the beginning of the rise of Lithuania to a powerful position among its neighbors. An account of Mindaugas, his policies and exploits, has been written by J. Totoraitis in his *Die Litauer unter dem König Mindove* (1905). The grand dukes of the 14th century, Gediminas and his sons Algirdas and Kęstutis strengthened the Lithuanian State and extended its borders eastward. This period is treated in *Synowie Gedymina*, by K. Stadnicki (1849–53), *Olgiard i Kiejstut*, by K. Stadnicki (1870), *Ród Gedymina*, by J. Wolff (1886) and *Kęstutis*, by J. Kučinskas (1938).

Gediminas' grandson Jogaila (Polish Jagiełło), after marrying the Polish princess Jadwiga, in 1386, was crowned king of Poland. Thus began the Jagellon dynasty which ruled both countries until 1572. Jogaila himself is the subject of a monograph by A. Prochaska (1908), and of a collective work, edited by A. Šapoka (1935). The Jagellons are discussed by H. Paszkiewicz, K. Stadnicki, L. Kolankowski, F. Papee and L. Finkel. After Jogaila had become king of Poland, Lithuania was ruled independently by his cousin, Grand Duke Vytautas (Russian Vitovt, Polish Witold), who brought Lithuanian power to its peak and who, together with Jogaila, decisively defeated the Teutonic Knights in 1410. Many monographs have been written on Vytautas; the best known are by A. Prochaska, A. I. Barbashev, and J. Pfitzner, and a collective work edited by P. Šležas. After the death of Vytautas, in 1430, the Lithuanian State started to weaken, although several capable rulers appeared after this time. When Jogaila became king of Poland, he brought the two countries into dynastic unity. The last and most important act of unity between both nations was signed in 1569 at Lublin. The records of the diet at which this act was signed appear in Russian translation in *Dnevnik Liūblinskago seĭma 1569 g.* (1869). It must be noted, however, that even after this act of unification Lithuania continued to enjoy a certain degree of independence, for each country maintained its own individual army, fiscal system, distinct laws, and strictly defined boundaries. Documents concerning the union have been published in *Akta unji Polski z Litwą 1385–1791*, ed. by S. Kutrzeba and W. Semkowicz (1932). Other works concerned with this period are: *Dzieje unii jagiellońskiej*, by O. Halecki (1919–20), *Lietuvos unija su Lenkija Jogailos ir Vytauto*

laikais, by D. Alseika (1927), *O genezie i wartości Krewa*, by H. Paszkiewicz (1938), *Lietuva ir Lenkija po 1569 m. Liublino unijos*, by I. Lappo (1932), etc.

Bound by unification with Poland, Lithuania followed the fate of her ally. At the end of the 18th century Poland and Lithuania were divided, during the so-called period of the partitions, and finally lost their independence altogether in 1795. Selected titles dealing with this period are: *Histoire des trois demembrements de la Pologne*, by A. F. C. de Ferrand (1820); *Grodzenskii seim 1793 g.*, by D. I. Ilovaški (1870); *Księżę Repnin i Polska*, by A. Kraushar (1897–98), and *Rządy Repnina na Litwie*, by L. Zytkowicz (1938).

In the 19th century, Lithuania and Poland tried by means of armed uprisings to rid themselves of their Russian masters and regain their independence. We find the 1831 rebellion described by H. Dembiński, J. Hordyński, and F. Wrotnowski. Accounts of the uprising of 1863–64 are given in *Moskowskie na Litwie rządy 1863–1869*, by W. Czaplicki (1869), *Pamiętniki z lat 1857–1865*, by J. K. Gieysztor (1913), *Rok 1863, wyroki śmierci*, ed. by W. Studnicki, and *Litva i Biëlorussiiâ v voztanii 1863 g.*, by A. I. Liâskovski (1939).

The 19th century in Lithuanian history is the century of national revival. Because of previous ties with Poland, the Lithuanian nobility had become more or less absorbed in Polish society. Thus, real progress could not be made until the lowest class was freed by the act of emancipation of the serfs in 1861. It is unfortunate that Lithuanian culture was dealt a heavy blow at the same time; after the uprising of 1863–64 was crushed, Russia imposed severe repressions on the population of Lithuania. Lithuanians were forbidden to print their own books in the Latin alphabet. It was thought that acceptance of the Russian alphabet by the Lithuanian people would make them more susceptible to indoctrination in the Russian language and culture. Only about 60 Lithuanian books were actually published in Russian transliteration; these have become collectors' items. One of these is in the Šaulys collection, viz. *Russkaiâ gramota dliâ litovtsev* (1878). The Russian educational policy in Lithuania is discussed by J. Matusas in his *Lietuvių rusinimas per pradžios mokyklas* (1937). The Lithuanians did not succumb, and for 40 years they fought for the right to print again in the Latin alphabet. During the interim, Lithuanian books were printed in Latin script in East

Prussia and illegally brought into Lithuania where they were widely distributed. These events are well described in *Knygnešys* (The Book Smuggler), edited by P. Ruseckas (1926–28).

In 1883 the first patriotic Lithuanian newspaper, *Aušra* (Dawn), appeared, followed later by others, of which *Varpas* (The Bell, 1889–1905) was the best known. Dr. Šaulys was for a short time (1903–4) the editor of this paper, and in his collection there is an almost complete file of it, with the exception of nos. 1–5 of the year 1892. For information concerning Lithuanian newspapers of that time, the reader is referred to *Die Presse Litauens unter Berücksichtigung des nationalen Gedankens und der öffentlichen Meinung*, by V. Kaupas (1934).

Lithuania regained its independence only after the first World War (1918). The emergence of the Lithuanian State as well as the period of German occupation of Lithuania is treated by P. Klimas, C. C. Rivas, H. de Chambon, B. E. Colliander, and M. Urbšienė. It would be proper to note here the reminiscences of that period written by P. Žadeikis, J. Navakas, A. Birontas, M. Yčas, V. Bartuška, and P. Dogelis. In addition, the Šaulys collection has many political pamphlets and reprints of articles concerning this important period of Lithuanian history.

The Šaulys collection is not rich in material on the life of independent Lithuania. A general survey of the twenty years of independent Lithuania is given in *Lietuva*, 1918–1938, ed. by V. Kemežys (1938). Agriculture, commerce, and finances are treated by J. Krikščiūnas, D. Gruodis, and D. Cesevičius respectively. Statistical data may be found in *Lietuva skaitmenimis 1918–1928*, and *Lietuvos apgyventos vietos* (1925), both published by the Central Bureau of Statistics. Lithuania, during her independence, had to face two vital political problems, the question of the legal status of the two areas of Vilna and Memel. Lithuania never relinquished her claim to Vilna as her ancient capital. Vilna was occupied by Poland in 1920, immediately after the latter's abrogation of a treaty signed shortly before. After several unsuccessful attempts by the League of Nations to settle the dispute, and after Vilna had been officially incorporated into the Polish State, Lithuania broke diplomatic relations with Poland, closing her border to that country. This condition lasted until 1938 when Poland, making use of the tense European situation created by

Nazi Germany, forced Lithuania to reopen diplomatic relations with her. It should be noted, however, that even earlier Poland attempted through the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague to force Lithuania to reopen the border, but the Court, in 1931, rendered a decision in favor of Lithuania. This case is fully described in *Consultations de MM A. de Lapradelle, L. Le Four et A. de Mandelstam, concernant la force obligatoire de la décision de la Conférence des Ambassadeurs du 15 mars 1923* (1928); *Trafic ferroviaire entre la Lithuanie et la Pologne* (1931); *Lietuvių lenky byla dėl tranzito Nemuno upynui ir Kaišiadorių-Lentvaravo geležinkelio ruožu*, published by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Lithuania (1931). The Polish-Lithuanian conflict concerning the Vilna question is discussed by K. Graužinis, L. Natkevičius, L. Meriggi, B. Griessinger, M. Anysas, and others. In addition, there are many pamphlets dealing with this problem, one of which should be mentioned: *Les relations actuelles entre la Lithuanie & la Pologne* (1919), by O. V. Milosz, the well-known French author and former Lithuanian envoy to France.

The second serious problem with which Lithuania had to deal was that of Memel (Klaipėda). The Memel area, prior to World War I, belonged to Germany, but in 1923 was rejoined with Lithuania as an autonomous unit. The interpretation of the Memel statute caused many political misunderstandings. One of these disputed interpretations was brought before The Hague Court in 1932, and the case was decided in favor of Lithuania. The proceedings of the case are fully recorded in the Court's publication entitled *Interprétation du statut de Memel* (1932). The Šaulys collection has a great number of works dealing with the Memel question, by such authors as A. Rouzier, A. Rogge, F. Janz, R. Valsonokas, M. Héliard, T. Kalijarvi, S. Daukša, and others. A particularly valuable commentary is the *Kommentar der Konvention über das Memelgebiet vom 8. Mai 1924*, by J. Robinson (1934). After Hitler came to power, a national socialist movement directed against Lithuanian sovereignty arose in the Memel area. The leading members of this movement were brought before Lithuanian courts in 1934–35. The trial is known as the case of Neuman, von Sass, and codefendants. The Šaulys collection has the complete text for the prosecution (published 1934) and the decision of the Court (1935).

All of the works in the Šaulys collection which have been mentioned so far deal with, or illustrate, the political history of Lithuania. The collection includes, in addition works on church history, e.g. *Geschichte der reformierten Kirchen in Lithauen*, by J. Łukaszewicz (1848), *Biskupstwo żmujdzkie*, by M. Wołoncewski (1898), *Kościół zamkowy, czyli Katedra wileńska*, by J. Kurczewski (1908–10), *Die Glaubenspaltung in Litauen im XVI Jahrhundert*, by J. Purickis (1919), and *Żmierzch unji kościelnej na Litwie i Białorusi*, by W. Charkiewicz (1929).

Education is represented by several significant titles: *Historja szkół w Koronie i Wielkiem Księstwie Litewskiem*, by J. Łukaszewicz (1849–51), *Dawna akademia wileńska*, by M. Baliński (1862), *Uniwersytet wileński*, by J. Bieliński (1899–1900), and *Vilniaus meno mokykla, 1793–1831*, by P. Galaunė (1928). In the field of printing and librarianship we list the *Historja drukarń w Królestwie Polskiem i Wielkiem Księstwie Litewskiem*, by J. S. Bandtkie (1826), *Cztery wieki drukarstwa w Wilnie*, by L. Abramowicz (1925), and *Biblioteka uniwersytecka w Wilnie do roku 1832-go*, by M. Brensztejn (1923). Among a number of titles on law there are *O litewskich i polskich prawach*, by T. Czacki (1843–44), *Vyriausias Lietuvos tribunolas XVI-XVIII amž.*, by A. Janulaitis (1927), *Litovskii statut 1588 g.*, by I. I. Lappo (1934–36), *Litovsko-russkii seim*, by M. K. Liubavskii (1900), *Oblastnoe dielenie i miestnoe upravlenie litovsko-russkago gosudarstva*, by M. K. Liubavskii (1892), *Velikoe Kniazhestvo Litovskoe vo vtoroi polovini XVI stoliētiā*, by I. I. Lappo (1911) and *Lietuvos konstitucinės teisės paskaitos*, by M. Romeris (1937). Economics finds representation in *Lietuvos visuomenės ūkio bruožai ligi Liublino unijos metų*, by A. Rimka (1925), *Lietuvos mokesčiai XI–XVI amž.*, by A. J. Veryha-Darevskis (1929). Heraldry and genealogy are covered in *Herbarz rycerstwa W. K. Litewskiego*, by W. W. Kojalowicz (1897), *Heraldyka polska wieków średnich*, by F. K. Piekosiński (1899), *Poczet rodów w Wielkiem Księstwie Litewskiem w XV i XVI wieku*, by A. Boniecki (1887) and *Pacowie, materiały historyczno-genealogiczne*, by J. Wolff (1885).

The Šaulys collection contains various studies on individual districts and towns. Two noteworthy titles are: *Sūduvos Suvalkijos istorija*, by J. Totoraitis (1938) and *Užnemunė po Prūsais, 1795–1807*, by A. Janulaitis (1928). Other works deal with Biržai, Kėdainiai, Vabalninkas, Kaunas, Šiauliai, Klaipėda, and the

region of Palanga. Works dealing with Vilna are, of course, numerous; the histories by M. Baliński and J. I. Kraszewski deserve special mention as well as several guidebooks containing valuable historical references.

There are a great many books which deal with so-called Lithuania Minor, which comprises the northeastern part of East Prussia. The contribution of Lithuania Minor to Lithuanian culture should not be underestimated; it was here that the first Lithuanian books were printed in the 16th century. Later, in the 18th century, this region produced the most outstanding representative of early Lithuanian poetry, K. Donelaitis (Donalitis), of whose works the Šaulys collection contains 2 editions. In the second half of the 19th century, Lithuania Minor again produced a well-known writer, V. Storasta, who wrote under the name of Vydūnas. The collection has several of his works, the most important of which is *Probočių šėšėliai*. In the course of time, however, Lithuania Minor became absorbed by German culture. It is interesting to note that in 1938 the Nazis changed all the local place names of Lithuanian origin into those of purely German derivation. Material on this subject can be found in *Neues Ortsnamenverzeichnis von Ostpreussen mit den alten und neuen Ortsnamen*, by H. Unger (1938). Relations between national groups in Lithuania Minor are discussed, among others, by V. Vileišis, P. Karge, and G. Mortensen-Heinrich.

Lithuanians, like people of so many other European nations, established sizable settlements on foreign soil. The largest of these is in the United States where Lithuanians were sufficiently numerous, even in the 19th century, to warrant the publication of newspapers and books in the Lithuanian language. The first such book appeared in 1875. A bibliography of Lithuanian books published in the United States to the year 1900 is given by Jr. Jonas (pseudonym for J. Žilius) in his *Suskaita, arba statistika visų lietuviškų knygų atspausių Amerikoje . . . iki 1900 m.* A general account of American Lithuanians is given in *Amerika ir Amerikos lietuviai*, by K. Gincitis (1925).

In concluding the survey of historical books in the Šaulys collection, mention may be made of several works on historical geography, namely: *Geograficheskii slovar' drevnei zhomoitskoï zemli XVI stoletiiā*, by I. I. Sprogis (1888); *Historisch-comparative Geo-*

graphie von Preussen, by M. P. Toeppen (1858); *Die Žemaitischen Mundarten*, by A. Salys (1930). An attempt to prove, by the use of local place names, that Lithuanians in prehistoric times occupied areas to the east of their present boundaries is made by the foremost Lithuanian linguist, K. Būga, in his *Aisčių praeitis vietų vardu šviesoje* (1924).

On the whole, Lithuanian literature is not well represented in the Šaulys collection. It does include, however, such well-known authors as Maironis, Žemaitė, V. Kudirka, J. Biliūnas, and Lazdynų Pelėda. The following anthologies are worthy of mention: *Gabija* (1907), *Pirmasai Baras* (1915), *Aukštyn* (1930), *Žemaičiai* (1938). Excellent translations of Lithuanian poetry into German have been made by H. Engert in his *Aus litauischer Dichtung* (1938). The history of the earlier Lithuanian literature is treated by M. Biržiška while the modern period is discussed by J. Tumas and V. Mykolaitis.

The Šaulys collection contains the standard work on Lithuanian bibliography, namely, *Lietuvių bibliografija*, by V. Biržiška (1924–35), covering the period from the beginning of printing in Lithuania through 1909. In addition, the collection includes the bibliographical periodical *Bibliografijos žinios* for the years 1928–1936.

Dr. Šaulys collected many important works in the field of Lithuanian linguistics. Among these is the 5th edition (1713) of the first dictionary of the Lithuanian language, *Dictionarium trium linguarum*, by K. Sirvydas (C. Szyrwid). Another rare item is *Trumpas pamokimas kalbos lietuwyškos arba žemaytyszkos*, which is a revised edition (1829) by S. Stanevičius of *Universitas linguarum Lituaniae*, published in 1737. Of special importance are the early miscellaneous texts of the Lithuanian language, viz. the collected works of M. Mažvydas (Mosvidius), the author of the first Lithuanian book (published in 1547), edited by G. Gerullis in 1922. One of the most important texts of the early Lithuanian language is the *Postil* (1599) by M. Daukša of which the collection contains a photographic edition published by the University at Kaunas in 1926. Of equal importance are the sermons of K. Sirvydas, *Punkty kazań . . . litewskim językiem, z wytłumaczeniem na polskie*, of which the Šaulys collection has the original edition of 1629–44. Attention should be drawn to *Ewangelie polskie i litewskie*,

the Gospels in Lithuanian and Polish, of 1705. Excerpts of the old Lithuanian texts are given by E. Volter and G. Gerullis. Several early texts are published by A. Bezzenberger in his *Litauische und lettische Drucke des 16. [und des 17.] Jahrhunderts* (1874–84).

Of all the Indo-European languages spoken today, Lithuanian shows the most archaic character and for that reason it occupies an important position in the field of comparative linguistics. The language has been studied and analyzed by many scholars since the beginning of the 19th century. The outstanding German linguist of the 19th century, A. Schleicher, wrote the first scientific grammar of the Lithuanian language. Other important grammars found in the collection are those of F. Kurschat, O. Wiedemann, K. Jaunius, and J. Jablonskis. Of great importance is J. Endzelins' grammar of the Lettish language, which is closely related to Lithuanian. Dictionaries are represented by those of G. H. F. Nesselmann, F. Kurschat, M. Miežinis, A. Juškevičius, and K. Būga. A great number of works are devoted to various phases of Lithuanian linguistics, such as dialectology, accentuation, etymology, and orthography. They include works by F. Specht, G. Gerullis, J. Otrębski, A. Salys, A. Bezzenberger, P. Skardžius, J. Jablonskis, E. Hermann, K. Būga, and A. Brückner. Furthermore, linguistic problems are dealt with in the periodical *Archivum philologicum* (Kaunas, 1930–37). In addition, the Library of the University of Pennsylvania contains a great number of other works by authors, heretofore unmentioned, such as P. Arumaa, H. H. Bender, A. Doritsch, R. Ekblom, E. Fraenkel, L. Geitler, P. Jonikas, A. Kurschat, A. Leskien, M. Niedermann, J. M. Rozwadowski, A. Senn, C. S. Stang, and others. Of the early rare books, reference should be made to grammars by G. Ostermeyer (1791) and C. G. Mielcke (1800), as well as to the dictionary by the latter (1800), which contains a preface by I. Kant.

The Saulys collection is weak in the field of Lithuanian folklore and ethnology. It does contain, however, several important works, one of which is the 3d edition (published by M. Biržiška in 1935) of the Rhesa's collection of Lithuanian folk songs. Other collections of this type were compiled by G. H. F. Nesselmann and A. Juškevičius, the latter having edited two particularly valuable publications, *Lietuviškos dainos* (1880–82) and *Lietuviškos*

svoibinės dainos (1883). Noteworthy are the following collections of folk tales: *Podania żmudzkie*, by M. Dowojna-Sylwestrowicz (1894) and *Lietuviškos pasakos yvairios*, by J. Basanavičius (1903–05). Material of value in the field of Lithuanian folk music is provided by such authors as A. Juškevičius (Juszkiewicz), A. Sabaliauskas and T. Brazys. Lithuanian folk art is treated in *L'arte rustica e popolare in Lituania*, by G. Salvatori (1925), *Lietuvių liaudies menas*, by P. Galaunė (1930), *Sodžiaus menas* (1931–32), and *Croix lithuaniennes*, edited by A. Jaroševičius (1912). An account of Lithuanian national customs is given in *Der preusche Littauer*, by T. Lepner (1744), *Litwa*, by Ludwik z Pokiewia (pseud. of L. A. Jucevičius, 1846), and *Svoibinė rėda veluonyčių lietuvių*, by A. Juškevičius (1880).

Since Christianity was accepted in Lithuania relatively late, the old pagan religion continued to manifest itself in the everyday life of the common people for a long time. Unfortunately, the most extensive description of Lithuanian mythology, *De diis samagitarum*, by J. Lasicius, is not entirely reliable. The Šaulys collection has two editions of this work, the rare original edition of 1615, and one edited by W. Mannhardt in 1868. Two other works should be mentioned here: *Senovės lietuvių religijos bibliografija*, by Z. Ivinskis (1938), a very important bibliography of the works dealing with the old Lithuanian religion; and *Mythologiae lituanicae monumenta*, ed. by A. Mierzyński (1896, vol. 2), a collection of the sources in the same field.

Finally it is important to draw attention to the Šaulys archive with an important section on the history of the emergence of the Lithuanian State after the first World War. The archive also includes personal correspondence received by Dr. Šaulys during his lifetime from such known Lithuanian writers as J. Biliūnas, Vydūnas, Lazdynų Pelėda, and others.

We hope that the Šaulys collection will be of particular interest since it is likely to be one of the most important collections on Lithuanian history now available to scholars and students outside the Russian orbit.

Notes on the Japanese Collection

F. H. CONROY*

THE University of Pennsylvania under the guidance of Dr. Bodde has for many years been active in the field of Chinese studies. In contrast, practically no books in Japanese were available until recently. During the past two years important steps have been taken to build a working collection adequate for the study program and for research in the social science aspects of Japanese culture. Basic bibliographies and dictionaries, biographies, general histories, encyclopedias (e.g. *Koji Ruiien*), a collection of the "Great Works of Japanese History" (*Kokushi Taikei*), and secondary studies by leading Japanese scholars covering various phases of Far Eastern history have been obtained.

Runs of *Shigaku Zasshi* (Journal of Historical Science), *Rekishi to Chiri* (History and Geography), *Shakai Keizai Shigaku* (Journal of Social and Economic History), *Gaikō Jiho* (Diplomatic Review), *Shirin* (History) and others form a basic collection and are available in the Japanese Seminar.

Emphasis has been placed on the late 19th, and the 20th century. To serve students in their work in this area, the Japanese newspaper collection *Shimbun Shūsei Meiji Hennen Shi*, published and unpublished Foreign Office documents (the latter on microfilm), records of the Japanese Diet, diaries and memoirs of prominent men, and publications of the Japanese secret societies have been purchased.

For the first time a library service scholarship has been granted to a graduate student working in the field of Far Eastern studies. It is hoped that, with his help and with the active cooperation of faculty members, our still young and small collection will grow successfully.

* University of Pennsylvania.

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Book Publishing at B. Franklin's College*

PHELPS SOULE

Introduction: Last summer Phelps Soule retired after twenty-six years as the head of the University of Pennsylvania Press. The following history of the Press which he prepared for the Philadelphia Book Clinic indicates his achievement in the fields of Pennsylvania scholarly and regional publishing. Actually, his program was based on the New England qualities he brought to the Press: well-salted common sense, a high regard for honest craftsmanship, and a conscientious conviction that truth is best served with simplicity.

The qualities needed by a University Press director are various but particular; they include proficiency in accounting and management, selling, printing production, editing, and in dealing with the formidable intransigence of scholarly authors. Training for such proficiency is not easily acquired, and Soule's early background was conventional New England: "b. Boston, Mass., April 15, 1883 . . . A.B., Harvard, 1906" as Who's Who lists it. And the move after Harvard was predictable; he went first to a broker's office, Wrenn Brothers and Company, and later to the Beacon Trust Company. But in 1910, after reading Bolton Hall's A Little Land and a Living, he turned toward "a more abundant life than that of a Boston bank clerk" and joined Carl Purington Rollins at the Montague Press in western Massachusetts as office manager. Rollins' brilliant work as a printer and designer was already becoming recognized, and the Montague Press drew such distinguished typographers and designers as W. A. Dwiggins and Bruce Rogers. Standards of craftsmanship were high but the living was plain (" . . . for years I could not look a shredded wheat biscuit in the face without a shudder") and Soule went on to the Montague Machine Company. When Rollins joined the Yale University Press in 1918, Soule followed him to become accounting manager. Five years later he became a member of the sales staff, and in 1925 he was appointed editor.

With this solid background Soule came to Penn to organize a publishing program, distrusting the job only because "I was being paid for work I enjoyed." And he did enjoy it, in spite of messy manuscripts and obdurate authors, renumbered footnotes and changes in page proofs, late reviews or no reviews.

Now he has gone on to the goal of all true bookmen and established his own press. He is compositor and printer and distributor, and sometimes author. And he is no longer concerned with increasing overhead: he knows the whole job and does the whole job at the Underfoot Press.

JOHN E. SIMMONS

* First published as Keepsake 4, 1953, by the Philadelphia Book Clinic. Reproduced by courtesy of the author and Mr. Harry S. Rossiter, designer of the Fourth Keepsake; with a new introduction, and a portrait of Phelps Soule by E. Simmons.

THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA PRESS did not spring into being overnight. As far back as January 1870, the first issue of the *Penn Monthly*, which was "conducted by Graduates of the University of Pennsylvania," carried the imprint of the "University Press Company."

The *Penn Monthly* did not long survive, but in June of 1889 a meeting was called for the purpose of reviving it and for the establishment of a university press. In November the University of Pennsylvania Press was organized, and a charter was obtained four months later.

The purpose of the corporation was described as ". . . carrying on the business of publishing books and dealing in books, maps and periodicals, stationery and other like articles and printing and book binding."

How much this corporation accomplished beyond publishing the *University Medical Magazine* is not recorded. The magazine expired in 1911, and in 1914 the corporation filed an out-of-existence affidavit at Harrisburg.

Edward W. Mumford of the class of 1889, secretary of the University from 1919 until his death in 1941, was the father of the University of Pennsylvania Press as it exists today. Before becoming secretary he had been associated with Charles C. Shoemaker's Penn Publishing Company and, as usually happens, the making of books had got into his blood. He enlisted the interest of other alumni, and in 1920 a new corporation with the awkward title of "Press of the University of Pennsylvania, Inc." was chartered, stock was issued, and boards of directors and of managers were elected.

In the minutes of the Directors' meeting of November 11, 1921, is the following resolution:

That the book on Formal Logic by Dr. H. B. Smith of the University Faculty be accepted for publication by the Press, an edition of 500 copies being printed at an estimated price of \$300. . . .

This popular number remained in print for twenty-five years.

In 1923 *An Introduction to Operations with Series* was issued through the generosity of an unknown donor, and other publications were financed by tapping the moneys collected from

“forfeiture of funds deposits”—for those were the days when candidates for the Ph.D. degree had to publish, or else.

These early publications were issued under the supervision of Charles H. Clarke, who took on private commissions in addition to his duties as head of the printing department of the John C. Winston Company. The bound stock was stored in the basement of Blanchard Hall, and the infrequent sales were effected through the secretary's office.

Presently this activity subsided, but interest revived in 1926, and in the following spring the present writer was brought on from the Yale University Press to become full-time editor and manager, with offices in what had originally been the dining room, pantry, and kitchen at 3438 Walnut Street.

His first recorded act was to consider—and reject—a manuscript with the appealing title of “Ophthalmic Optics.” His second and more constructive task was to persuade the authorities to give up both the corporate form of organization and its clumsy title, and to make the Press a department of the University.

A Publications Committee of nine members, representing faculty and administration, was appointed by the Provost. Five years later, in order to bring new blood into the committee, all members except the two representatives of the administration were limited to two three-year terms.

During the first year the staff consisted of the editor and a secretary—or, rather, a succession of the latter. In 1928 the staff was increased by one to take care of book production and promotion, and later by the addition of a bookkeeper. With the part-time assistance of an ageless veteran of the Spanish-American War as shipping clerk, this small but able staff carried on the work of the office for many years. It now numbers twelve.

In 1931 the Press moved into the little brick tenant house on Locust Street where Dietrich Hall now stands, and in 1946 it came to its present quarters at 3436 Walnut Street. And, as they say in Alabama, Here we rest.

“Widowers,” as Mr. Potash remarked to Mr. Perlmutter, “is like babies. The second summer is the most dangerous.” With any publishing house the struggle to survive and build up a respectable list starts sooner and lasts longer. The requirement,

later abrogated, that candidates for the doctorate must publish their dissertations was an undoubted hardship to the young authors, but it helped the Press in those early days to have some of this scholarly, if sometimes immature, material to draw on. By publishing such studies, and by acting as agent for publications of the University Museum, the Press was able to issue its first catalogue in 1928 with a list of some two hundred titles, of which only eight were its own legitimate offspring.

The Press has been fortunate in becoming the publisher of several series of distinguished volumes resulting from research and lectureships at the University. Of these, the Industrial Research Studies of the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, under the editorship of Miriam Hussey, started in 1928 and ran to thirty-five volumes. These studies included monographs by C. Canby Balderston, Anne Bezanson, Gladys L. Palmer, George W. Taylor, and other well-known economists.

The A. S. W. Rosenbach Fellowship in Bibliography was responsible for the publication of lectures delivered by Christopher Morley, Lawrence C. Wroth, Shane Leslie, A. Edward Newton, Randolph G. Adams, George Parker Winship, Curt F. Bühler, James G. McManaway, Clarence S. Brigham, John F. Fulton, and George Sarton.

The Eldredge Reeves Johnson Foundation for Medical Physics provided lectures by A. V. Hill, E. D. Adrian, Joseph Erlanger, and Herbert S. Gasser. This series was a casualty of World War II, and unfortunately has not been renewed.

Under the sponsorship of the S. S. Huebner Foundation for Insurance Education, the Press has issued seven authoritative volumes, edited by David McCahan, on various aspects of life insurance, with more to follow.

The useful and timely Industry-wide Collective Bargaining Series (fifteen pamphlets) and Labor Arbitration Series (nine pamphlets) were edited by George W. Taylor and published in 1950 and 1952, respectively.

The Benjamin Franklin Lectures, established in 1949, has brought outstanding men of letters, art, and science to the University of Pennsylvania, and has produced *Changing Patterns in American Civilization*, *The Future of Democratic Capitalism*, *The Scientists Look at Our World*, and *The Cultural Migration*.

From time to time the Press has issued books originating as Cooper Lectures delivered at Swarthmore College. The latest of these, *Civil Liberties under Attack*, by Henry Steele Commager, Zechariah Chafee III, Robert K. Carr, Walter Gellhorn, and Curtis Bok, has met with a heartening response from men of good will.

Another instance of coöperation with a sister institution is the Temple University Publications, which give Temple a publishing outlet for its faculty and the advantage of having its books listed and promoted by an established press. The two most recent volumes in this series are Daniel Hoffman's *Paul Bunyan* and Gaylord LeRoy's *Perplexed Prophets*.

In 1940 the University held its Bicentennial Celebration, and the books and pamphlets resulting from the lectures delivered by visiting scholars made 1941 the publication peak of the Press. The range was wide: from female sex hormones and dental caries to symposia on the arts, economics, science, and civilization itself. Sales records indicate that the public was most interested in hypertension and medical problems of old age.

With the publication in 1944 of Richard Hofstadter's *Social Darwinism in American Thought*, the Press became the publisher of the Beveridge Memorial volumes sponsored by the American Historical Association. By the end of the current year, ten titles in this series will have been issued.

Other series include monographs of the Philadelphia Anthropological Society, the Morris Arboretum, and Pennsylvania Lives—this last collection consisting of brief biographies of Pennsylvanians who have played important parts in the history of the Commonwealth.

The Press is also the publisher of the *American Quarterly*, and has at various times in the past had its imprint on *Pennsylvania History*, the *Hispanic Review*, and the *Museum Journal*.

In American history and biography, especially that of Pennsylvania, the Press has developed a strong list. In addition to the twelve volumes in the Pennsylvania Lives series, publications include Paul A. W. Wallace's *Conrad Weiser*, *The Muhlenbergs of Pennsylvania*, and *The White Roots of Peace*, W. W. Comfort's *William Penn*, J. Bennett Nolan's studies of Franklin, and those of Nathan G. Goodman on Franklin and Benjamin Rush, Guy

Klett's *Presbyterians in Colonial Pennsylvania*, and John H. Powell's *Bring Out Your Dead*. Coming down to the nineteenth century, there are Agnes Gilchrist's *William Strickland*, Donald Fleming's *John William Draper*, George Stokes's *Agnes Repplier*, and Ernest Earnest's *S. Weir Mitchell*.

In the 1880's the University of Pennsylvania embarked upon an era of expansion, one development of which was the building of a strong department of history which included such distinguished scholars as Edward P. Cheyney, Dana C. Munro, James Harvey Robinson, John Bach McMaster, William E. Lingelbach, and Arthur C. Howland. Among the activities of this faculty was the preparation and publication of six volumes of Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History.

This collection of thirty-odd translated documents was turned over to the Press, and proved a valuable legacy. In recent years six additional titles in the third series have been issued by the Press, under the editorship of William C. McDermott.

Medieval music is represented by *Le Chansonnier Cangé and Le Manuscrit du Roi*, by Jean and Louise Beck, with facsimile reproductions and transcriptions of over five hundred troubadour and trouvère songs.

In 1949 the Press reached out to "Noroway o'er the faem" and arranged with the American Institute of the University of Oslo and the local department of American Civilization for joint publications on transatlantic influences. The first volume in this series was *The American Spirit in Europe*, by the Norwegian historian Halvdan Koht. The second, on this year's list, is *The Norwegian Language in America*, by Professor Einar Haugen of the University of Wisconsin.

If the foregoing has created the impression that the output of the Press consists entirely of a series of series, a glance through its catalogues should dispel that impression. One finds there such divergent works as Christopher Ward's *Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware*; Cornelius Weygandt's *The Red Hills*; *One Man in His Time*, a ham actor's reminiscences edited by Maud and Otis Skinner; Charles C. Butterworth's *Literary Lineage of the King James Bible*; Pumpernickle Bill Troxell's *Aus Pennsylvawnia*; William N. Bates's *Sophocles*; Earl F. Robacker's *Pennsylvania German Literature and Pennsylvania Dutch Stuff*; A. Edward Newton's

Newton on Blackstone; Miliukov's *Outlines of Russian Culture*; George Korson's *Minstrels of the Mine Patch, Coal Dust on the Fiddle*, and (editor) *Pennsylvania Songs and Legends*; Boies Penrose's *Urbane Travelers*; Monica Kiefer's *American Children through Their Books*; Conway Zirkle's *Death of a Science in Russia*; Charles S. Boyer's *Early Forges and Furnaces in New Jersey*; John M. Fogg's *Weeds of Lawn and Garden*; Otto Pollak's *Criminality of Women*; Alfred Bendiner's *Music to My Eyes*; J. H. S. Bossard's *Parent and Child*; Alice Ford's *Painter of the Peaceable Kingdom*; John Greenway's *American Songs of Protest*; and, with the Philadelphia Art Alliance, *Philadelphia Architecture in the Nineteenth Century*.

The half-million people who read, and occasionally even buy, serious books may wonder why university presses exist, since book publishing is at best a speculative business, and only a few of the adequately endowed presses can hope to support themselves by books alone.

Opinions vary. At one pole are those who believe that university presses exist in order to rescue rejected professorial manuscripts from oblivion; at the other, those who realize that an active press provides excellent publicity for its parent institution at a lower cost than athletic teams, and on a considerably higher plane.

In this connection it is worthy of note that both the *Saturday Review of Literature* and the *Publishers' Weekly* devote special issues to the work of these presses every spring, and that they are now responsible for about ten per cent of all books published in the United States. And if one takes into consideration the fact that their offerings include little if any fiction, juveniles, or pornography, the percentage based on like classifications is materially higher.

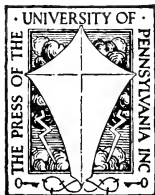
On the esthetic side, the example set by the university presses in content, literary style, and physical grace of presentation has, in the last half-century, exerted an important influence in raising the standard of book publishing to its present level of general excellence.

THE PUBLISHER'S DEVICE

At the meeting of the Directors of the PRESS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA INCORPORATED held on August 17, 1921, it was:

RESOLVED: That the imprint to appear in publications of the Corporation shall be a design in a rectangle, showing a kite, and the words "Press of the University of Pennsylvania."

RESOLVED: That the Treasurer be authorized to pay to Edwin H. Fetterolf the sum of \$50 for his services in designing the imprint mark of the Press.



This is what the Directors got, and it served them right for giving an artist minute instructions instead of giving him his head.

The device with the kite was used once, and although Mr. Fetterolf came forward later with the kite in an oval frame, it never appeared on a title-page, for in the meantime a second device, apparently drawn by William Gross, had been adopted.



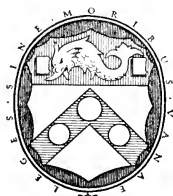
This octagonal imprint was a decided improvement, but still heavy and angular, and whether used with or without the border, the off-center profile of the Founder created the optical illusion of its being tipped toward the left.

In 1932 the University revised its coat-of-arms by adding Franklin's dolphin to the three plates of William Penn's escutch-

eon and flanking the former with the books which are the heraldic insignia denoting an institution of learning.

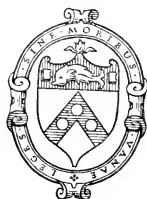
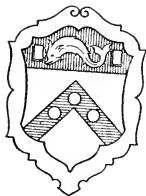


Five years later Mr. Fetterolf, who was a loyal alumnus, an architect by profession, and a calligrapher by avocation, came into the picture again. As a labor of love, and one he thoroughly enjoyed, he presented the Press with two new designs, which were eagerly accepted, for both title-page and back stamp.



From time to time he would appear at the office bearing gifts, some of which are reproduced. Not all of them have been used as yet, but the variety of form, and of the little dolphin's expression from grave to gay, provides title-page decoration to accompany the whole gamut of subject-matter:





An Early Printing Estimate for an Academic Press

CURT F. BÜHLER*

ONE of the very earliest, and certainly one of the most interesting, of the academic presses was the one established at Venice by Paul Manutius in 1558 on behalf of the Accademia Veneziana. The number of editions put out by this press reaches a total of 57 items in Renouard's great bibliography¹; these issues, furthermore, form a most curious mixture of publications, ranging all the way from classical topics to the accounts of printers working for the Accademia, possibly among the earliest printed accounts of this nature. Such a publication is the subject of this study; it is described by Renouard (p. 278) in these terms:

"40. Conto di Nicolo Bevilaqua, detto il Trentino. 1558. Feuillet in-4°."

Of particular interest are the debit entries which give estimates for the printing of two books, the first of which is represented by a copy in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania (Accession no.* 46-1354). This is the *Orationes clarorum hominum, vel honoris officiique causa ad Principes, vel in funere de virtutibus eorum habitae* (Renouard, p. 275, no. 23). The second is a treatise *In secundam Infortiati partem de legatis praeclarissima commentaria, nunc primum edita* by Andrea Alciato (Renouard, p. 276, no. 25); the only copy known to this writer is in the John Rylands Library at Manchester.² Since the facts and figures printed in the Bevilaqua leaflet lead to several interesting conclusions, the text of the account is here printed from the copy in the Pierpont Morgan Library (Accession no. 40662)³:

Conto de Mistro Nicolo Stampator.

1558 a di 2. Febraro.

* Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

L'ACADEMIA die dare per la stampatura de 33 fogli delle orationi congratulatorie, Et funerali, a 1100 per foglio danno balle numero sette risme doi quinterni dodese, & a ragion di lire 68. la balla, cioè carta, et stampatura monta lire 493. s. 7. Val	l. 493. s. 7
A di ditto die dare per la stāpatura de 22. fogli d'un opera, de l'Alciato, a 1100 per foglio danno balle numero quattro, risme otto quinterni otto, a lire 62. la balla monta lire 300 s. 2. Val	l. 300. s. 2
A di ditto die dare per la stampatura de 500 Indici	lire 13. s. 12
die dare]	l. 807. s. 1

1558. a di 2. Febraro.

L'ACADEMIA die hauer per tanti a me contadi, & prima in banco Foscariu Riceui ducati cinquanta, Val	l. 310. s.
A di 18. Zenar Riceui Nel banco dolfini ducati trenta, Val	l. 186. s.
A di 27. ditto Riceui dal Signor Zuane ditta dell' Academia ducati sei, Val	l. 37. s. 4
A di primo Febraro Riceui dal Signor Abbate Murlopini, pur per nome de l'Academia, ducati numero uinti, Val	l. 124. s.
Riceui da Vincenzo dal mondo, balle numero cinque de carta pur per nome de l'Acade- mia, monta lire cento quaranta, Val	l. 140. s.
Riceui da M. Nicolo di alberti per nome de l'Acade- mia, in doi uolte lire, 97. s. 6. Val	l. 97. s.
riceuuta.	l. 894. s. 4

Nicolo stampatore detto il trentino.

1559. a di primo. Marzo.

CONFESSO io Nicolo Beuilaqua stampator de libri, come per resto et saldo de tutti i libri che ho stampati fin hora all' Eccellentissima Academia Venetiana ho riceuuto dal Mag. M. Giustiniano Badoaro suo Cassier lire nonantanoue s. 4 iquali sono per resto et saldo de detti libri per mi stampati, liquali tutti ho dati alla ditta Academia, di modo che l'una parte & l'altra e contenta & satisfatta fin ad sopraditto, & in fede della uerita esso Signor Giustiniano si sottoscriuerà de man propria.

Et io Nicolo soprascritto scrisci di man propria.

The reader's curiosity as to the accuracy of the estimates and statements is immediately aroused by one very obvious slip, for the text states that Mistro Nicolò had received from Nicolò di Alberti the sum of 97 lire and 6 soldi; both the figures in the column and the sum total of them, however, conveniently forget about the six soldi.

A number of rather significant facts emerge from a study of the text of this document. The simplest of arithmetic, for example, reveals that in 1559 the Venetian ducat was the equivalent of six lire and four soldi. Incidentally, despite the printed date 1558, the year is certainly 1559 according to our reckoning. One must assume that the document is dated "more Veneto,"⁴ since it is quite unlikely that an entire year would have elapsed between the compilation of the account and the giving of the receipt.

From the printing estimate, we may conclude that, in the middle of the sixteenth century, a Venetian "balla" (bale) contained 5,000 sheets, a "risma" (ream) 500 sheets, and a "quinterno" (quire) 25 sheets. Thus, for the printing of the *Orationes*, Bevilaqua estimated an edition of 1,100 copies at 33 sheets per book, for a total of 36,300 sheets; this corresponds exactly to the seven bales (35,000), two reams (1,000), and twelve quires (300 sheets) of the estimate. Similarly, for the Alciato, it was judged that 24,200 sheets would suffice—or four bales (20,000), eight reams (4,000) and eight quires (200 sheets).

In several respects, however, this *Conto* is mystifying, for the printed estimates are not exactly justified by any consideration of the existing facts. At 68 lire the bale, the cost of the *Orationes*

would work out at just a trifle more than lire 493/13/7 against the 493/7/0 of the balance. Similarly, at 62 lire the bale, the Alciato comes to just a shade more than lire 300/1/6. From this one may reasonably conclude that Bevilaqua and his employers were satisfied with round figures. But what seems most curious indeed is the fact that Bevilaqua's estimates for the size of these two volumes went completely awry. The *Orationes*, as printed, is a quarto of 180 leaves (*4**4 A-Z⁴ Aa-Vv⁴), thus accounting for 45 rather than 33 sheets. For an edition of 1,100 copies, Bevilaqua would thus have required 49,500 sheets (nine bales and nine reams); at 68 lire the bale, the total cost would have been lire 673/4/0.

The Alciato, as printed, is a folio volume of 80 leaves (*2**2 A-Z² a-p²). Thus 40 sheets, and not 22, were required for the printing, and an edition of 1,100 copies would use 44,000 sheets (eight bales and eight reams). At 62 lire the bale, this works out to cost lire 545/12/0. In short, against a figure of lire 793/9/0 for the two books given in the document, the correct estimate should have been lire 793/15/1. Using the same components as in the estimate but corrected calculations, the completed books would necessarily have cost lire 1,218/16/0. I am completely at a loss to explain the wide discrepancy between the estimate as given by Bevilaqua and the (apparent) final cost, bearing in mind Mistro Nicolò's long experience as a printer.

Finally Renouard (p. 276, no. 25) explains the third item in this estimate in these terms:

Dans le compte de Bevilacqua, je vois 13 l. 12 s. *per la stampatura de 500 Indici*. C'est encore un petit Catalogue, probablement d'un quart ou d'une moitié de feuille, et dont tous les exemplaires auront péri. Si quelque amateur le retrouve, il le reconnoîtra sur cette indication.

To this writer, it seems just as likely that the entry in the Bevilaqua account refers to one of the three *Indici* noted under numbers 3-5 in Renouard's list (p. 270) for the Accademia Veneziana.

Whatever inaccuracies and carelessness this balance sheet may reveal, it is nevertheless an item of very considerable interest not only for the economics of sixteenth-century publishing but also (perhaps) for what it reveals as to the curious financial arrange-

ments and irregularities of the managers of the Accademia Veneziana.⁵ It will be recalled that, just two years after the printing of this document, the Academy's founder, the distinguished senator Federigo Badoaro (uncle of the Giustiniano, here noted as cashier) was accused of fraud, duly convicted and ultimately (19 August 1561) thrown into jail. The very first Accademia Veneziana thereupon closed its doors, Paul Manutius found it expedient to seize this moment to move his press to Rome, and Nicolò Bevilaqua, in turn,⁶ resumed operations under his own name in Venice. It is probably no more than a coincidence, alas, that the irregularities in this document are paralleled by those of the founder and chief supporter of the Academy.

NOTES

1. Antoine Augustin Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde*, Paris, 1834, pp. 267-281.
2. For details concerning this copy, I am much obliged to the Librarian of the Rylands Library, Professor Edward Robertson.
3. The pamphlet is now bound as one sheet folded. The recto of the first leaf is blank, with the debit entries appearing on the verso. The credit entries appear on the recto of the second leaf, and the receipt on the verso of the same. The text of the document should offer no difficulties to anyone conversant with the Italian of the period. Most of the financial terms here used will be found in Florence Edler, *Glossary of Mediaeval Terms of Business, Italian Series 1200-1600*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1934.
4. "Die Republik Venedig nahm als offiziellen Jahresanfang bis zum Aufhören ihrer Selbständigkeit den 1. März," F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, Leipzig, 1914, III, 160.
5. Compare Renouard's account in his sketch of the life of Paul Manutius, especially pp. 434-440. For Badoaro's ambitious plans for the Accademia Veneziana, see his *Scrittura di deputatione* of 30 December 1560 (Renouard, p. 280, no. 52—copy in Morgan Library, Acc. no. 1177). This work also identifies many of the members of the Academy and those officially connected with it.
6. For Nicolò Bevilaqua's career, compare Ester Pastorello, *Tipografi, editori, librai a Venezia*, Florence, 1924, p. 9, and Fernanda Ascarelli, *La tipografia cinquecentina italiana*, Florence, 1953, pp. 104-105.

Master Jacobus' *Frogs*

LLOYD W. DALY*

JOHANNES FROBENIUS, in the preface to his 1524 edition of Aristophanes' *Frogs*, the first separate edition of that comedy, invited youthful readers' attention to the play for the quality of its Greek. He observed that Aristophanes, if you except the choruses, reflects the elegance of Attic speech so well in verse that he is hardly to be surpassed by the felicity of Lucian's prose. "These frogs," he says, "sing more sweetly than any nightingale, although some part of our pleasure is lost because we cannot everywhere understand the point of the comic poet's allusions."

A master Jacobus bought a copy of this text and wrote his name modestly at the bottom of the title page, "*M. Jacobus.*" The annotations with which he proceeded to fill the generous margins and interlinear spaces of the tiny volume, which now reposes in the Rare Book Room of the University Library, give a good insight into the study of Greek in the middle of the sixteenth century. All of these annotations are penned in a very fine and reasonably legible hand. On a few scattered pages several additional notes have been made in a quite different hand. Although master Jacobus' native language was German, as a half-dozen comments reveal, the language of his studies was Latin. With these half-dozen exceptions, his notes are all in very respectable Latin, as are the numerous translations of words written between the lines throughout the text. This is what one would expect, but it serves to remind us that our German-speaking student would have been translating his Greek, not into his own tongue, but into the universal language of learning.

What kind of a student was our Jacobus? Apparently he was a fairly systematic person in any case, for he made a rough index of his annotations on the title page under such headings as: *rara*, *fabula*, *proverbia*, *ironiae*, *historica*, *geographica*. If one were to suppose that the annotations represented his own interests, he would seem to have been a rather erudite individual, but misspellings

* University of Pennsylvania.

attempted to teach this subject as an incidental to the reading of a play will sympathize with the instructor.

There are also references to a considerable range of ancient authorities including Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Theopompus, Didymus, Dioscorides, Plautus, Pliny, Gellius, Celsus, Stephanus, Hesychius, Suidas and Moschopoulos. Of more interest perhaps are the references to the works of contemporary scholarship. The *De Rudimentis Hebraicis* of Johann Reuchlin (1506) is cited only once, but there are twenty or thirty references to Erasmus' *Adagiorum Chiliades*, probably to one of the Frobenius editions of this work. It will be remembered that Erasmus was general editor and literary advisor of Frobenius' press at Basel from 1521 to 1527 and thus probably supervised our edition of *The Frogs*. The most recent work to which reference is made is the *Historia Rei Nummariae* of Joachim Camerarius (*Camerar. de numismatibus*, p. 12) which was published at Leipzig in 1556.

One note calls for particular attention. At line 1065 of the *Frogs* Aristophanes has Aeschylus remark that "none of the rich is willing to serve as trierarch." Master Jacobus at this point on page 51 of his text glossed the word *triērarchein* with the words *Triremi imperare* and commented in the upper margin :i: *publicis munus subire sicuti hodie Carolus*. This Carolus can hardly be other than the emperor Charles V who abdicated in 1556 and we must suppose that this was the year in which our student was reading the *Frogs*.

To one familiar with the appearance of students' texts of Greek authors today, perhaps the most striking feature of master Jacobus' annotations is their marked similarity, in all respects except language, to those of students almost four hundred years later.

Theodore Dreiser's *Notes on Life*

NEDA WESTLAKE*

IN the autumn of 1952, the University of Pennsylvania Library received two metal trunks of unpublished manuscripts, the last consignment of material from the Theodore Dreiser Estate. Ten years before, in 1942, the first boxes of correspondence had arrived from the Dreiser home in Hollywood, and in the interval the vast collection of books, manuscripts, and miscellaneous associated materials has come to the Library in accordance with agreements with Theodore Dreiser and, after his death in 1945, with Mrs. Helen Dreiser. The material in these two trunks, the last of the papers to be added to the Dreiser Collection, is the vitally important, unpublished manuscript, *Notes on Life*, a collection of clippings, memos, reading references, and unfinished chapters of what Dreiser hoped would be an explanation of his personal philosophy.

Dreiser's awareness of the cultural and religious changes in America from the pioneering *Sister Carrie* in 1900, to *An American Tragedy* in 1925, and *The Stoic* in 1947 is evident in his fiction. His novels are the result of his reactions to the world as he saw it, but these *Notes* are an almost chronological record of the sources of his reactions to social disruption, the effect of war, and the growing authority and permeation of science. From internal evidence it would appear that Dreiser first contemplated a synthesis of his reading and personal attitudes in a formal way in the early 1920's and then characteristically set about accumulating material and increasing his knowledge in the areas of philosophy and science, a project that received his intermittent attention for twenty years. A glance at the proposed outline of the material, revised many times, shows that Dreiser was not presuming to do a definitive study of twentieth century philosophy; rather, his object was to correlate what he could learn of scientific discoveries and contemporary social judgments with his own conclusions concerning life. That a mechanistic, naturalistic attitude was the basis for those conclusions is obvious to those who are familiar

* University of Pennsylvania Library.

with Dreiser's work. On the other hand, there was the constant search on his part for the meeting place between the scientist and the mystic, between the disorder that he thought society to be in and the order of Nature as he observed it. These *Notes on Life* are in the nature of query, not categorical analysis, and for that reason they reveal Dreiser's own changing attitudes and the opinions of many of his contemporaries.

For some years after her husband's death, Mrs. Dreiser had retained the manuscript, hoping that she could arrange and edit the material herself, because it represented the last bulk of unpublished Dreiser manuscripts, and because she was personally interested in the subject matter and had given her husband much assistance in the gathering of information. Unfortunately, ill health prevented her undertaking the task. Mr. Sydney Horowitz, who had used the Dreiser Collection previously, when preparing his doctoral thesis *Theodore Dreiser: Basic Patterns of his Work* (University of Pittsburgh, 1951), went to California in the spring and summer of 1952 to consult with Mrs. Dreiser about the problem. He received her approval to edit the material, with advice from the members of the Dreiser Committee on the University of Pennsylvania faculty. In the fall of 1952 Mr. Horowitz came to Philadelphia and secured the approval of the Committee and the Library; Mrs. Dreiser then forwarded the two large trunks of manuscript to the Library to be incorporated in the Dreiser Collection. A grant to Mr. Horowitz from the American Philosophical Society, in October 1952, removed the last obstacle to the project, and with that encouraging assistance he was able to start on the task of sorting and segregating the papers. His report to the Society, summarized in their annual report for 1953, outlined the peculiar problems of the work and gave a résumé of what he had been able to accomplish by the middle of the winter. In March, Mr. Horowitz became ill and was unable to give more than occasional periods of study to his project; the promising enterprise was halted by his death on July 6, 1953. His death was a cause of sorrow to those who had grown to admire and respect him and who had watched his intelligent and sympathetic handling of the Dreiser manuscript.

When Mr. Horowitz began his work, the material was in 87 neatly wrapped and labelled bundles in the two metal trunks, far

from the chaotic state commonly expected of a famous writer's manuscripts. However, past experience with Dreiser's filing methods and the well-meaning efforts of a succession of his secretaries had taught caution, well-deserved in this case. Those who had handled the material before its arrival at the Library had been faithful in preserving the author's directions, but they were faced with the fact that Dreiser himself had made several rearrangements of the papers and that his final intention had not been clearly formulated before his death. Some of the packages were labelled in Dreiser's hand, others were not; each contained manuscripts, clippings, and notes on reading arranged with some regard to the outline which Dreiser had made and revised many times. The condition of the papers confirmed what had been surmised, that Dreiser had been collecting data, writing preliminary drafts of chapters, and re-arranging the growing mass of material from the early 1930's. Mr. Horovitz was able within two months to sort out manuscript from secondary sources and to effect an arrangement of the actual manuscript consistent with Dreiser's outline. His revision is convincing proof of his editorial competence and grasp of Dreiser's methods of work.

The full appraisal of the stages in Dreiser's thinking that led to the accumulation of the manuscript will, of course, have to wait for a detailed examination of the material. However, there is sufficient correlation between the *Notes on Life* and other Dreiser manuscripts to justify a few comments. The training of a newspaperman rather than that of a scholar is evident throughout his work. Annotations from secondary sources supply author and title, with little else; abundant use was made of newspaper clippings and magazine articles as in the case of *An American Tragedy* and the Cowperwood trilogy; correspondence with his contemporaries influenced his opinions, and he did not hesitate to exercise the reporter's ingenuity in using direct interviews—among the scientists at Woods Hole, Massachusetts, and at the California Institute of Technology. He made use of research assistance in gathering material but directed the areas of investigation himself. As the material grew, he made and revised outlines, expanded certain sections and limited others, and sorted the information into various categories, frequently making several copies of an article or reading notes and inserting them

under various headings, no doubt with the idea that final arrangement would suggest the proper place for their inclusion.

Dreiser's literary activities and his interest in labor and social problems were expanding rapidly in the late 1920's and 1930's, with the result that the time spent on this particular manuscript was sporadic; however, he found time to sketch out some chapters, even writing out some of them completely and making his usual careful notations as to where they belonged in the entire work. The outline of the material, tentatively entitled *Illusion Called Life*, and printed at the end of this article (A), is Dreiser's final draft; the chapter headings are sufficiently indicative of the general tenor of the author's intention.

After July 1953, the papers, with Mr. Horovitz's notes, were arranged in a convenient order in the Rare Book Collection of the University of Pennsylvania Library. He had sorted out the voluminous notes on reading which Dreiser had made and from that material had compiled a tentative check-list, selections from which appear under B. The reading notes remain in the condition in which Mr. Horovitz left them, boxed and labelled and segregated from the actual manuscript.

The 11 boxes of manuscript, in folders with subject headings, are arranged according to Dreiser's own outline and the revised outline worked out by Mr. Horovitz, with labels reading: "THEODORE DREISER PAPERS: Philosophical Notes—Horovitz arrangement." The first box contains the original Dreiser outline, Mr. Horovitz's revision with his last working notes and unsorted material, and the John Cowper Powys introduction which Mrs. Dreiser had hoped to see as a preface to a completed book. The remaining ten boxes contain labelled folders with the numbering representing Mr. Horovitz's arrangement with reference to Dreiser's and his own outline, taking into account the unavoidable duplication of subject headings. Mr. Horovitz's last working notes indicate the categories in which he had advanced furthest, and the labelling of the folders, with his designations, in some degree show the progress he had made. A glance at the following outline and reading list will suggest the importance of the material in appraising not only Dreiser's intellectual development but also his literary production; the *Notes* provide some interesting conjectures as to the author's attempt

to evaluate science, religious and philosophical thought, and the emotional, economic and social condition of modern man.

A.

Throughout the *Notes on Life* there are references to many writers whose influence on Dreiser appears in other work: Emerson, Thoreau, Whitman, Edgar Lee Masters, Robert Frost, Shaw, H. G. Wells, Thomas Hardy, Tolstoi, and John Dewey. The following is a partial list of books which are quoted at some length in the reading notes:

Henry Adams, *The Tendency of History*

Percy W. Bridgman, *The Logic of Modern Physics*

Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici*

Thomas Carlyle, *Heroes and Hero-Worship*

Alexis Carrel, *Man the Unknown*

Arthur H. Compton, *The Freedom of Man*

René Descartes, *Discourse on Method*

Havelock Ellis, *The Philosophy of Conflict*

Sigmund Freud, *The Future of an Illusion*

J. W. Goethe, *Elective Affinities*

Remy de Gourmont, *The Natural Philosophy of Love*

Ernst Haeckel, *The Riddle of the Universe*

John B. S. Haldane, *Science and Ethics*

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*

Thomas H. Huxley, *On the Physical Basis of Life; Essays Selected from Lay Sermons*

William James, *On Some of Life's Ideals; A Pluralistic Universe*

David H. Lawrence, *Fantasia of the Unconscious*

Sir Oliver Lodge, *Atoms and Rays; Ether and Reality*

Thomas H. Morgan, *The Relation of Genetics to Physiology and Medicine*

Friedrich Nietzsche, *Genealogy of Morals*

Thomas Paine, *Age of Reason*

Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*

John Cowper Powys, *In Defense of Sensuality*

Llewellyn Powys, *Love and Death*

Plato, *Republic; Dialogues*

George Santayana, *Scepticism and Animal Faith*

Arthur Schopenhauer, *Studies in Pessimism*

Benedictus de Spinoza, *The Philosophy of Spinoza; Ethic*

August Strindberg, *Zones of the Spirit*

Mark Twain, *What Is Man?*

John Woolman, *Journal*

B.

ILLUSION CALLED LIFE

Dreiser's Outline

PART I

1. Mechanism called the universe
2. Mechanism called life
3. Necessity for repetition
4. Material base of form
5. The factor called time
6. The factor called chance
7. Weights and measures
8. The mechanism called man
9. Physical and chemical character of his actions
10. Mechanism called mind
11. The emotions
12. The so-called progress of mind
13. Mechanism called memory
14. Myth of individuality
15. Myth of individual thinking
16. Myth of free will
17. Myth of individual creative power
18. Myth of individual possession
19. Myth of individual responsibility
20. Myth of individual and race memory
21. The force called illusion
22. Varieties of force
23. Transmutation of personality
24. The problem of genius

PART II

1. The theory that life is a game
2. Special and favoring phases of the solar system
3. The necessity for contrast
4. The necessity for limitation
5. The necessity for change
6. The necessity for interest and reward
7. The necessity for ignorance

8. The necessity for secrecy
9. The necessity for youth and age, old and new
10. Scarcity and plenty
11. Strength and weakness
12. Courage and fear
13. Mercy and cruelty
14. Beauty and ugliness
15. Order and disorder
16. Good and evil
17. The problem of knowledge
18. The equation called morality
19. The compromise called justice
20. The salve called religion
21. The problem of progress and purpose
22. The myth of a perfect social order
23. The essential tragedy of life
24. The problem of death
25. Equation inevitable
26. Laughter
27. Music.

RENAISSANCE SOCIETY

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